CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

BY XENOPHON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

BY THE LATE

HON. MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A PREFACE, by Way of DEDICATION,

To the Right Honourable the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

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M DCCLXXVIII.



TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

MADAM,

A MAN, who is indebted to the public for leiſure, and for freedom from ſervile employment, is under obligation to acquire knowledge; and principally in religion, policy, and the art of war. You will, in probability, think, that morals ought to be added to the number; but as religion may be divided into two ſorts, real and political, and as real religion can by no means be disjoined from morals, it does not ſeem proper to mention them as a diſtinct head.

THE objects of the mind in real religion are the greateſt in the world, the Divinity, and all divine things. When the mind has imbibed a full knowledge of theſe to its utmoſt capacity, it may be ſaid to be religious: It then ſees the Divinity in all things; it ſees it in human nature, and in all the laws of affection and duty in its ſeveral relations; it ſees it in the whole world, and in every part of it, from the higheſt to the loweſt productions, both animate and inanimate. The religious man thinks himſelf not

to be * *concealed from God in any of his motions.* True ſentiments of God are the foundation of our duties to him: True knowledge of ourſelves ſettles our duty in that reſpect likewiſe, and eſtabliſhes a rule of rating the value of ourſelves and others different from that of the multitude. The dignity of the more divine part of man is aſſerted †; the *Cæſars*, *Herods*, and *Pilates*, the high prieſts and ſcribes, the powerful, the rich, and the many, are of no note here ‡. Falſe opinions, and an over-valuation of riches, honours, and all the other meaner concerns of life, whence all vice ariſes, cannot be entertained where this knowledge is §. Our duty may indeed be divided into three parts, as ſettled by our three principal relations; to God, to other men, and to ourſelves; and they may be differently termed, but they are but the main branches of the one moral ſcience. If morals be diſjoined from their relation to what is divine, and confined to a certain ſyſtem of manners, contrived for the regulation of our own perſonal concerns of body and mind, and to guide us in our conduct amongſt men, they then become ſomething entirely different from what is before meant; and they dwindle into an *Epicurean* moral, an art of ſettling certain rules of behaviour upon a principle of intereſt, convenience, or pleaſure. The caſe of religion is alike ill when ſo diſjoined from human concerns; for then is the Divine Being, like *Epicurus*'s Divinities, confined to the higheſt heavens, and unconcerned in the adminiſtration of the lower world. And this, in the *Epicureans*, was but excluding Providence from the world with a ſort of compliment, that ſeems to have been

* Arrain. Epict. Lib. i. c. 12. 14.

† Matt. xx. 25. xxi. 23. 31. xxii. 16, &c. xxiii. 2, &c. xxvii. 20.

‡ Luke vi. 24, &c. Matt. v. 29, 30.

§ Ench. Epict. c. 37, 38, &c.

intended

intended as a ſkreen from the reproach of atheiſm, rather than to have ariſen from any real opinion of ſuch beings: But real religion is the ſummit and completion of all knowledge; runs through all, and ariſes from collecting what is divine in all things. * The fowls of the air are fed; the ſtature of man is limited; † the lillies of the field are cloathed by Providence; without it a bird falls not to the ground, nor a hair from the head: This is Chriſtianity, or the doctrine of our Saviour, is real religion, and is not to be found but in the mind of the wiſe and good, and of the few ‡ who enter in at the ſtrait gate.

But when religion comes to be ſpoken of as a national eſtabliſhment, it is no longer the real, but the political, and makes part of the ſtate; it has its lawful forms and ceremonies under the adminiſtration of its miniſters, who are regulated by the ſtate, and paid for their ſervice. One may very juſtly think, that he has but little knowledge of Chriſtianity and real religion, who does not ſee the evident difference; if they are the ſame, then were the § *Epheſian* ſilverſmiths, and the *Sacheverells* of all ages, and their followers, extremely religious; for great zealots they certainly were for the political religion; but in the reality they had no knowledge, and had nothing to do with it.

The different turns that have been given to eſtabliſhed religions, as governments have differed from each other, or changed within themſelves, will ſerve to illuſtrate this diſtinction of religion into real and political. The *Greek* religion differed remarkably in cities and people, that differed in their genius and policy. The beſt and braveſt of the *Greeks* applied their principal worſhip to the nobleſt and moſt

* Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.
† Matt. x. 29.
‡ Matt. vii. 13.
§ Acts xix. 23.

chaſte of their deities, as to *Juno* or *Pallas*; others of them, that were more tyrannical in their form of civil government, and more looſe in their manners, addreſſed their principal worſhip to *Venus* or *Bacchus*. The ſame deities had a chaſte and decent worſhip paid them in one place, and in another a more pompous one, and more looſe. This conſecration of particular cities and people to particular deities, as their different forms of government and genius led them, is intimated in *Homer* by the great partiality he exhibits in particular deities to particular cities and people. This divine partiality reached even to private men, and differed according to their characters: One deity favoured *Achilles*, another *Ulyſſes*, another *Paris*; as amongſt ſtates, which are political perſons, and different in characters, one deity favoured *Athens*, another *Argos*, and another *Paphos*. The *Roman* religion, by the account of their hiſtorians, * was more plain and decent in their earlier and better times; but in the time of *Julius Cæſar* it was become full of lewdneſs and extravagance. Not very long after *Julius*, Chriſtianity aroſe; it was the real and true religion in the breaſts of its few true profeſſors long before its name was embraced by multitudes, armies, and emperors, and ſo became the public religion. After this its eſtabliſhment, what has been the variety of forms it has appeared in? Through many changes it at laſt appeared in the compleat Papal form which long prevailed almoſt over all *Chriſtendom*. And in this form how many mean turns has it ſerved? How has it been made ſubſervient to the intereſt of princes and prieſts that were its votaries? About two hundred years ago eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity took another turn, and appears now in ſeveral nations in different forms, but in *England* particularly.

* Plutarch's Life of Numa. Dionyſius Halicar. Lib. ii.

larly. And ſince the change made at the Reformation, how have ſome of our prieſts uſed it in different turns of government? Many have made it a ſupport of the tyranny of princes, and deſtructive to the civil rights of men. Real chriſtianity, mean while, is none of all theſe changeable eſtabliſhments and human inſtitutions, nor ever can be; but ſtands upon its own ground; and whether it be the religion of the multitude, and national, or not national, or whatever be the forms of it in national eſtabliſhments, is one and the ſame in itſelf, firm, and unalterable, and will undoubtedly remain to the end of the world, whether owned or not owned by any publick eſtabliſhment indifferently.

If it can ſtill be objected, that real religion and chriſtianity is now become the eſtabliſhed and political religion; and that, of conſequence, they are the ſame, and not to be diſtinguiſhed, I muſt, in anſwer, repeat, that real religion is the ſcience of the Divinity, and of all things divine; and is to be learned from the great volume of nature, as well as from ſcripture; as Geometry from *Euclid*; and other ſciences from like means. And every man is only ſo far knowing in a ſcience, as he has applied his own faculties to the laws of it; for no man is maſter of any ſcience by another's underſtanding. This, therefore, ſtands entirely upon private judgment, and muſt ever do ſo. Eſtabliſhed religion is a form of public worſhip, choſen by the public; and its rules are preſcribed by the political power, with certain perſons appointed to adminiſter in it according to thoſe ſettled rules. The political power of this nation has accordingly eſtabliſhed a form, and has provided, abundantly, both for the education and maintainance of men to officiate in it; has ordered them in public diſcourſes to inſtruct the people in real religion, as far as they are capable of

it; and has appointed them the ſcripture, as the rule and meaſure of their inſtructions; with certain canons, articles, and rubricks, limiting times, forms, and ceremonies, farther than the ſcripture does; and, in ſome inſtances, limiting likewiſe points of faith. But this it does modeſtly; with acknowledgment of its own fallibility; and, in conſequence of this conceſſion, it allows a liberty to diſſent. Now this ſtands upon the public judgment of the ſtate. When, therefore, by foreign force, or inteſtine broils, the political frame is diſſolved, all this form falls to the ground. But real religion certainly cannot be ſaid to fall with the political frame, unleſs one make all religion to be merely political, and a creature of the ſtate; which is direct atheiſm. And, even while this chriſtian form happily ſubſiſts under a quiet government, and that nine parts in ten of a whole people embrace it, certainly no real chriſtian will ſay, that nine parts in ten of ſo great a multitude are ſincere, true, and real chriſtians; that the common herd of men, who are under a neceſſity of giving their whole time to the procuring themſelves neceſſaries; or the men of buſineſs, who addict themſelves to gain; or the prince or grandee, who proſtitutes his time to pleaſure and diverſion, are truly chriſtian, and religious upon principles of ſcience. It muſt be owned, indeed, that the very worſt and moſt ignorant of the multitude may have great zeal for the eſtabliſhed religion; and this zeal, under wicked leaders, has raiſed the greateſt tumults and diſorders amongſt men, and has carried chriſtians by profeſſion to actions extremely unchriſtian and inhuman. Real and eſtabliſhed chriſtianity muſt, therefore, be diſtinct, ſince they never fall together, and ſince they ſubſiſt together but in few inſtances. If religion have any thing to do with ſcience or knowledge, this muſt be true; but there are many, I fear, that ſtrike religion out of the catalogue of ſciences,

ſciences, and liſt it among the blind paſſions of men; as does *Hobbes*, who defines religion *as a fear of power inviſible, from tales publickly told.* And between him, and ſome certain managers of religion, there is this difference, that he would have his civil ſovereign be the only authentic teller of theſe tales; and theſe divines would be the tellers of them themſelves: both equally enemies to the underſtandings of men, but antagoniſts to each other about who ſhall hold the tyranny.

THE mention of Mr. *Hobbes* ſuggeſts likewiſe ſome aſſertions of his, relating to man in the ſtate of nature, and which perhaps may not ſeem to be entirely foreign to the preſent ſubject. He makes the natural ſtate of man to be a ſtate of war and enmity againſt each other; where there is no rule of juſt and unjuſt, right and wrong; where power is the only meaſure of right; and where fear and love of power are the chief paſſions of men. Now, had he been deſcribing the ſtate of men who had long lived under a political form of government; and who, upon the diſſolution of it, had broken out into all the irregularities poſſible; a prince on one ſide claiming a ſovereignty independent upon all human authority, and his partizans ſupporting him with arms, without much pretence to religion, and without regard to juſtice or honeſty; and the chief leaders of the oppoſite faction, acting with as little regard to natural juſtice, under a maſk of ſanctity and religion; he had then, indeed, made a juſt and natural deſcription of ſuch a ſtate of man. But if he calls this the natural ſtate of the human creature, as it came out of the hands of God, before its having loſt its natural rule and law of life, before its being rendered corrupt and artificial, it ſeems evidently abſurd. But Mr. *Hobbes* may be excuſed; for, as he charges the antient writers of politics with copying the political ſchemes from the ancient

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commonwealths, ſo he plainly copied his picture of the human mind, and of his commonwealth, from his own mind, and from the ſtate of things as he had ſeen them in thoſe confuſed times, which had undoubtedly made that unfortunate impreſſion of fear upon his mind, and gave it ſo wrong a turn. But if we conſider every ſpecies of creatures in the world, we ſhall find there is a natural rule and law of life belonging to each, with reſpect to their food and ſuſtenance; to their living in herds, or otherwiſe; to their defence againſt beaſts that are naturally their enemies; to the ſounds by which they expreſs their fears, their pains, their wants, and their pleaſures; and to their places of reſt, and the whole œconomy of their young. Our common cattle, when wild, and in their natural ſtate, have a natural rule in all theſe ſeveral reſpects: they affect each other's company, and accordingly they herd; and when they are grazing, if a beaſt of prey appear, * *the bull iſſues out for the ſake of the herd:* or † when they are attacked by man, there is a general motion amongſt them; and whilſt the bulls advance, and place themſelves in front againſt their adverſaries, the cows range themſelves behind their males, and the young retire behind all. They underſtand each other's ſounds, and are affectionately careful of their young. This natural frame of paſſions in each ſpecies of animals, diſtinguiſhes the kinds and the ſexes; and the characters of the ſeveral animals are as much conſtituted by this inward form, as they are diſtinguiſhed by the outward: the lion and the tiger are both creatures of prey; but in the character of the lion it is ſaid, that man has obſerved a ‡ ſort of generoſity and gratitude,

* Arrian, Epict. l. i. c. 2.
† Dampier, Vol. II. Part ii. Page 99.
‡ A. Gellius L.

that

that is not in the other. The elephant is entirely different from both the laſt mentioned, and has a character particular to itſelf: and ſo of all other creatures. The human creature, without doubt, has likewiſe from nature its inward frame, and a certain rule of life accordingly. If the words right and wrong, juſt and unjuſt, be only applicable to the arbitrary limitations of property, made by men already formed into political ſociety, ſo let them be; they are then not to be applied to the natural ſtate. But if, in the inſtance before, the bull ſhould deſert his part, and take the ſtation of the cow or calf; if the cow ſhould devour the young; or the calf ſhould fear its own ſpecies, be averſe to it, and herd with goats or ſheep; one might be allowed to ſay, that this would be erring from the rule of nature; one might call it deformed, ugly, unnatural, and monſtrous; as, on the contrary, a ſteady adherence to this rule might be called beautiful, comely, natural, and being true to its part. Beauty and deformity are not more evidently applicable to the outward form, than to this inward one. Then, as to the character of the human creature in its natural ſtate, without doing great wrong to ourſelves in that ſtate, and violence to our judgments in this, we cannot but think that we ſhould naturally be as great lovers of each others company as any other creature whatever; and, of conſequence, ſhould herd, and be ſocial, ready to hazard ourſelves for others of our kind, and for our young. It is not eaſy to imagine that we ſhould be naturally ſavage and cruel: We ſhould certainly have a horror and averſion to the feeding upon warm fleſh and blood of expiring creatures, which ſome animals do with pleaſure: We ſhould as certainly loath and avoid the ſight and ſmell of rotten carcaſes,

carcaſes, which is the delight of others; our food would be of another kind: We ſhould certainly have as great an affection to our young, as any other creature has to theirs: We ſhould certainly be as ſagacious as any, in providing either in common, or otherwiſe, for all our little needs in that ſtate, and, perhaps, a great deal more than any other. But what our natural language would be; what our food would conſiſt of; how the order and rule between male and female, with reſpect to themſelves and to their young, would then ſtand, both as to the continuance and manner of that particular relation; theſe are things that are not to be limited with any certainty now. But, in the whole, it ſeems evident enough, that we are naturally a mild, gentle, ſociable, and * compaſſionate creature. Ambition, and graſping at high poſts in the ſtate, and our preſent artificial ſet of paſſions, and the barbarous tranſgreſſions of rule and order that have followed upon them, belong not to that ſtate of things. This natural ſtate of ours, was the golden age of the antient heathen world; and if the account that *Moſes* gives of Paradiſe before the fall be allegory, and not fact, as Dr. *Burnet*, in his *Archæologia* aſſerts, our natural ſtate was certainly repreſented by that allegory. Beſides, there ſeems to be little reaſon to doubt, but that men under civil government would be as manageable by their magiſtrates, as flocks and herds by their paſtors and ſhepherds, were it not for the vice and ignorance of ſuch human herdſmen and paſtors; did but they, as * *Xenophon* ſays, act their part with underſtanding and ſkill. And then, even upon the diſſolution of government, and things being brought to confuſion, as there is in all things a beautiful rule and order

* Cyropæd. † Pag.

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ſet by nature, ſo here would there be ſtill a rule. The arrogant, the proud, the ambitious, ſuch as thought all their fellow-creatures made to ſerve their ends, would act without regard to religion, to faith, to all that was excellent and beautiful; and the extent of their power would be their only meaſure: But, perhaps, a few would ſtill be faithful, modeſt, brave, humane, and religious, and would act or ſuffer handſomely; at leaſt there would be an evident difference in the characters of men ſo left to themſelves, in proportion to their ſenſe of this natural and divine rule, and its being preſerved untainted in their minds, and not ſullied or obliterated by vile and unnatural ſentiments and paſſions.

By what has been before ſaid, it may be decided, whether the independance of religion upon civil government, may be juſtly claimed, or no. The thing plainly decides itſelf: Real religion is a mental ſubſiſtence; * *It is not here nor there, but within us*; † *It is not of this world*: Had it been otherwiſe, our Saviour had made an appeal to arms, and to the powers of this world. It is abſolutely independant, and has nothing to do with the magiſtrate: It is a thing of a noble nature, and its truths are yet leſs ſubject to political juriſdiction than mathematical truths, in which, it would be ridiculous to ſay, that the magiſtrate ought to decide. But to ſay that the government has nothing to do with the national religion, which itſelf eſtabliſhed and made national, ſeems very abſurd: And for the miniſters, whoſe forms are preſcribed them by the political power, whoſe privileges are limited by the ſame, and who are indebted to the public for their education and maintenance; to ſay, that they are independant upon it, ſeems a little arrogant. It is, undoubtedly,

* Luke xvii. 21. † John xviii. 36.

proper

proper that every nation ſhould have their artiſts in religious concerns, as the * *Perſians* had; but if theſe men aſſert, that they are the laſt reſort in affairs of religion, let the prieſthood conſiſt of thoſe who, of all the proprietors of the territory, are moſt venerable for nobility of birth, for wiſdom, for years paſſed with untainted integrity; theſe will be better directors than the neceſſitous, the mean of birth, the unwiſe, and the young; and yet can be no more than propoſers and helps to men in their choice; the laſt reſort remains ſtill with the chooſers.

When the public, therefore, has choſen its religion, which muſt be done, both that it may diſcharge its own duty, and to prevent the duty of the multitude from being left undirected, and at the mercy of ſuperſtition, and every private guide; it may then be aſked, whether this religious eſtabliſhment ought to be impoſed upon all private men? That it may be impoſed by power, is certain; for the magiſtrates and multitude, or the abſolute monarch and his army, after having made their own choice, may act in this as they pleaſe. If they are heathen, they may impoſe the worſhip of a plurality of gods: If they are Turks or Jews, they may oblige a man to deny our Saviour to be the Chriſt and Son of God: If they are corrupt pretenders to Chriſtianity, they may oblige one to ſay that Chriſtianity is what it is not: And they may, any of them, if they pleaſe, oblige one to ſay, that there are no antipodes; that eclipſes will not happen according to aſtronomical obſervations; that the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones; or, upon refuſal, they may inflict puniſhment at will. But will and power are often uſed unjuſtly and unwiſely. The Papacy is well known to uſe this impoſing

* Cyropædia.

power;

power; and *Hobbes*, who is a paſſionate advocate of arbitrary power, recommends this uſe of it in his *Leviathan*. But there ſeems not to be much juſtice or humanity, and as little of chriſtianity in the practice. And with reſpect to theſe impoſitions in affairs of religion, and the miſery that ever attends them, the caſe ſeems to be this: That they are not the original cauſe of miſery and confuſion, but the corrupt effects only of the diſſolution or imperfection of political forms of government, or of ignorance and vice in princes. For, if a decent form of religion be eſtabliſhed by the political power, there will be but few that will be diſſenting from it; and a liberty in this kind is what the generoſity, juſtice, and benignity of good governments will always allow. But, if the political orders are broken, and the multitude deprived of their orderly guidance and leading, they then form themſelves into ſeparate herds, as ignorance, ſuperſtition, and corrupt intereſts lead them, and fall foul of one another. And this is the fertile ſoil of tyranny: Hence ſprung the *Cæſars*, the *Mahomets*, the *Popes*, and the *Cromwells*; creatures of multitudes, that have been deſtitute of the bleſſing of juſt and wiſe political orders. And in ſuch circumſtances of men, the laws of juſtice and humanity find no place. So that when men hear of ſtrange abſurdities impoſed, and great cruelties practiſed in conſequence of them, inſtead of venting a great deal of wrath againſt the craft and wickedneſs of prieſts, they ought rather to lament the diſtempers that ſocieties of men are ſubject to. As for inſtance: The *Romans* were a ſociety of men formed from a collection of thieves and plunderers; who, when they had fixed themſelves a habitation, made it a ſponge to imbibe criminals of all ſorts, and ſuch as were too vile to

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ſubſiſt under their own governments. The way that their hiſtorians took to render their original divine was, by relating that the god of war debauched a prieſteſs profeſſing Chriſtianity: From this conjunction of war and violence with unchaſtity, and breach of religious profeſſion, there came the two youths, that ſucked the milk of a female beaſt of prey: One of theſe youths murdered the other, and founded *Rome*. However this fable may have been taken as compliment, it looks like the artful contrivance of ſome *Greek*, to give, under this diſguiſe, a character of the *Roman* ſtate. This city, thus formed, proceeded upon its firſt principles, and made its progreſs by plunder and rapine; had little elſe in its frame but what was military: Their booty and conqueſts were diſtributed, indeed, but never juſtly, even under what they call their commonwealth *. The common people were generally abuſed and cheated in it, though there were perpetual quarrels about their dividends. And as this city, at laſt, enſlaved almoſt the whole world, ſo it deſtroyed every thing that carried the face of civil government. Then it corrupted ſtill further within itſelf, and changed into a monſtrous tyranny. Letters, arts, and ſciences, ſunk throughout the world. Then, when this tyranny corrupted and decayed, the eccleſiaſtical leviathan began to raiſe its head; and when it fell quite to pieces, and became divided into ſeveral parts independant upon each other, the eccleſiaſtical republic aſſerted its dominion over all, and in the midſt of theſe ruins formed its independant policy. When, therefore, the corruption of civil governments, and the ignorance of princes, have given exiſtence to ſuch forms, can it

* Plutarch, Vid. Num.

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be expected that men ſhould be falſe to their own public? Can it be thought, that men who are trained up from their youth in a certain order and form, diſtinct from the civil, without dependance upon it, or expectations of any honours or rewards, but in degrees and orders of their own, and under their own governors, ſhould act for an eſtabliſhment foreign to their own? When they muſt know that their own foundations ſtand upon the ruin of civil forms, and muſt owe their continuance to the depreſſion of them? Mens zeal in this caſe is not to be wondered at. If they who are in the civil intereſt will entirely diſcharge themſelves of the nobleſt knowledge in the world, of all judgment in what is pleaſing or diſpleaſing to God, and will leave the ſovereign deciſion in theſe matters to others, it is certainly juſt that they to whom theſe matters are thus left, ſhould preſcribe to thoſe who are thus abandoned to ignorance; ſhould tell them how to behave in their families; how to govern their own perſons; how to act in converſe and dealings with others; how to act in the public; and ſhould dictate to them in all things. And the particular policy of theſe divines ought, with ſtill more reaſon, to be left entirely to themſelves. Some nations have, indeed, proteſted againſt this hierarchy; and in moſt others there is a greater diſpoſition to judge for themſelves, than is pleaſing to the eccleſiaſtics. Letters, ſcience, and arts, have within theſe two or three centuries revived. But if the civil forms, that are now eſtabliſhed in the world, moulder away to nothing, by means of the corruption and ignorance of the managers, the eccleſiaſtics will juſtly become their maſters. For, as * *Cyrus* ſays, "God has ſo eſtabliſhed things,

* Cyropædia.

" that they who will not impoſe upon themſelves the " taſk of labouring for their own advantage, ſhall " have other taſk-maſters given them." Suppoſing, then, that the eccleſiaſtics have reduced the reſt of men to their obedience, as every the meaneſt prieſt is entitled to riſe to the higheſt dignities, and, when admitted to his freedom in the hierarchy, is not debarred from knowledge and letters, as thoſe of the laity are; as their monarch and grandees are elective, and not hereditary; and the abſolute ſovereignty is not lodged in the ſingle perſon, but that their general councils claim a ſhare with him in it; the body of them ought then to take care that their own chiefs do not affect a tyranny over them, and ſerve them as *Cæſar* did *Rome*. And then if the virtue of their frame be preſerved till after they have broken the lay-intereſt to pieces, they may then, perhaps, aſſume the ſword into their own hands, as the templers, who were an order amongſt them, were once poſſeſſed of it; and may come to think it fit to tranſmit the property of the world to their own children, and not chooſe their ſucceſſors from amongſt the children of their ſervants and vaſſals. This will be the ſpring of a new civil intereſt, much wiſer than that upon whoſe ruins it is built; and it will continue ſo, while the ingenuous and free cultivate knowledge, and hold the ſword. But let them once give up knowledge, and drop the ſword into the hands of hirelings, they muſt ſubmit to the conſequence of having their ſervants become their maſters. The prieſthood, thus ſuppoſed maſters of the world, may then, perhaps, divide themſelves into diſtinct governments, by diſtinct territories. And though they are not now ſo divided, yet they ought, in truth, to be accounted a civil government within themſelves, diſtinct from all others. And if one conſider the ſhare of property and revenue

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that they are poſſeſſed of in the ſeveral countries of *Europe*, they will be found to be a very great and powerful ſtate. Mean while, it matters not what the things are that are impoſed upon men, who give up their judgments in the greateſt concerns; for even truths publiſhed for mens belief, when received without knowledge and underſtanding, are no better than tales and forgeries.

As religion is divided into two heads of ſcience, ſo may virtue be divided into ſeveral; as, for inſtance, into real, political, and military, as well as others. The real falls into the head of morals, and real religion, and is one and the ſame thing under ſeveral names; but temperance in eating and drinking, ability to deny one's-ſelf one's uſual reſt, to undergo toil and labour, to ſleep in open air, and contempt of danger and death; theſe are military virtues, may ariſe from cuſtom and inſtitution, or from neceſſity, or from ambition, and may be the virtues of robbers and pirates. The hero, in the following papers, will give you cauſe to think of this diſtinction; particularly in his ſpeech when he is grown a man, and is ſetting out upon his * *Median* expedition, as well as upon many other occaſions.

What is here ſent you to employ ſome hours of your leiſure, relates to religion, as well as to politics and war, though this laſt ſeems to be the chief ſubject of it.

As to politics, the account given of the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*, the luxury and effeminacy of the *Median* court, the abſolute dependance of all upon the prince's will, the effeminacy and meanneſs of the people, the poorneſs of their military diſcipline, the manner of protecting the territory by fortreſſes and garriſons, the waſte of lands upon the borders inha-

* Cyropædia.

bited only by wild beaſts, ſhew the nature of arbitrary governments. The noble orders eſtabliſhed amongſt the *Perſians*, the education of the ingenuous amongſt them, the rights of ſovereignty lodged in a public council, the laws of public weal eſtabliſhed as guides both to prince and people, the bravery of the people, and the wiſdom of their military diſcipline, ſhew the virtue and power of free governments. There ſeems indeed to be ſomething in the ſtory that ſuggeſts this defect to be in the *Perſian* frame; that the free, the ingenuous, the gentlemen, the noble, (call them by which name you pleaſe,) are reduced to too ſmall a number; and too ſmall a number of great-ones commonly implies their riches to be too great with reſpect to the reſt of the people: Or if the riches and power of the gentleman be but inconſiderable, and the people have them not, then the prince remains too weighty in the ſcale, and the reſt are but dependants and ſervants. Now in either of theſe caſes, the ambition of great families, or that of the ſingle one, always prevents the diviſion of the riches and eſtates amongſt greater numbers, and preſſes on to further increaſe, till the few become yet fewer, or the ſingle one yet greater; and at laſt, either the prince, or one of the over-grown few, by riches and numerous dependants, aſſumes the tyranny: Then to him all become ſervants, his will is then the only law; he muſt hold his power by an army; and to compleat all, muſt hold his own head at the will of that army. This ſhews the folly of the abettors of arbitrary ſway, who pronounce it to be ſo vile a thing for the prince to be ſaid to hold his power at the will of the multitude; whereas the prince muſt of neceſſity hold at the will of a multitude: For ſuppoſing him to have deſtroyed the intereſt of the honeſt multitude, who were in poſſeſſion of the lands and commerce of a country, and to have ſubjected

jected their power by means of an army, he muſt then of neceſſity hold his own power at the will of that multitude of mercenaries. Whoever knows any thing of the ſtory of the *Roman* and *Turkiſh* armies and emperors, and conſiders the nature of things, muſt ſee, that an abſolute prince is a creature and ſervant of a military multitude, and ever comes uppermoſt when the mercenary crew have deſtroyed the civil power. So that in politics the voice of the people is the voice of God, and multitude muſt and will be the laſt reſort here. * *Julius Cæſar*, and all the able attempters of tyranny in the antient world, underſtood their art too well to be ignorant of this; and accordingly they laid themſelves out entirely in the culture and ſervice of their armies, and of ſuch part of the civil multitude as were moſt corrupt and neceſſitous; their own private fortunes were entirely ſacrificed to this; all that they acquired by conqueſt was applied to this, as well as all that they could plunder from their governments and fellow-citizens, for upon this did their ſovereignty depend. *Octavius*, the nephew and heir of *Julius*, could not entirely gain his point, till, by little arts of his own, and by the folly of his competitors, the moſt and beſt of the legions were brought to declare for him, and to eſtabliſh him ſovereign. Where, therefore, was the laſt reſort and foundation of ſovereignty in this caſe? It belongs only to the poor pedantic modern patrons of tyranny, who mix religion and politics together, to talk of ſovereignty by divine right †, independent upon human authority, and accountable only to God; and it belongs only to very weak and conceited affectors of tyranny to give ear

* Dyoniſ. Halicar. upon Ariſtodemus, Lib. vii. Suetonius, Lib. i.

† Clarendon's Hiſtory.

to ſuch poor inſtructors. There is no manner of doubt but that it has been one of the moſt common arts of tyranny to bring heaven, and all that is ſacred upon earth, into its intereſt! * *Piſiſtratus*, when reſtored to the tyranny at *Athens*, dreſſed up a woman to perſonate the goddeſs *Pallas*, as if the goddeſs favoured him ſo far as to introduce him, and attend in her own perſon at his reſtoration. *Julius Cæſar*, in an oration he made at the funeral of an aunt, derived himſelf, by his grandmother, from *Ancus*, one of the kings of *Rome*, and by his father from the goddeſs *Venus*. After his death, and at the celebration of the firſt honours paid him as a god, a blazing ſtar appeared, which was given out, and by ſome believed, to be the ſoul of *Julius*, received into heaven among the deities. Others of the *Roman* monarchs were likewiſe deified, ſo that the elder *Veſpaſian* made a jeſt of it; and when he was taken violently ill, he cried out, *I believe I am going to be a god.* A multitude of things of this kind might be mentioned. There is a natural gratitude in the people to the deſcendants of thoſe that have been benefactors to men, or are thought to have been ſo, and a natural deference to ſuperior and divine powers; and erectors of tyranny, who have had neither knowledge of God, nor regard to him themſelves, nor love to man, always act the impoſtors, and abuſe and play upon the underſtandings and paſſions of the multitude. The claim of divine right is the modern art; and princes would undoubtedly have ſtill more divinity and ſanctity beſtowed upon them, as they had in old days, if the eccleſiaſtics were not competitors with them in it, and could ſpare it from themſelves. But even theſe frauds can never be of any effect, if they fail of their

* Herodotus, Lib. i.

intended

intended influence upon the people; *Cæsar* therefore trusted to other means; he never talked so idly of sovereignty, protection, and obedience, as some modern dealers in politics, * who confound themselves and others with these words. *Cæsar*'s empire, and that of *Cyrus*, mentioned in the following papers, were not built upon such foundations. Absolute sovereignty is never applicable to a prince, whether at the head of a legal government, or of a tyranny: For in a legal government the prince has law for his rule, as well as the people; his property and rights are limitted by that rule, and so are those of the people; the laws and orders of government are the protection both of prince and people. But if the prince affects to be absolute sovereign and lord of all, he must nurse up and cultivate a body of soldiery sufficient for the work, and unite them in interest with him to dissolve the legal frame: Then, if he succeeds, the people are indeed protected, as the people of *Turky* are protected, and as the people of *Rome* were under their emperors; and the army becomes the prince's protection, and in reality sovereign. But how such sovereignty differs from tyranny; how such protection differs from power to oppress; and how such obedience and subjection differs from servitude; can never be made out. And as tyrannies rise thus in a particular state, so great empires, that are but extended tyrannies, make their way through the world by the vice and impotence of neighbouring states: Whereas, by order within themselves, friendship and good faith with each other, little states repel the impotent attacks of great empires, that are powerful only by the vice and weakness of their neighbours. Such hints in the course of the story, and the observations that may be made

* Clarendon's History.

upon them, ſeem to me to let one more into political knowledge than moſt of the books and pamphlets that are now written upon that ſubject.

THE advices given with reſpect to the art of war, are obvious; and, with all their plainneſs, are more than moſt of our preſent military men now think of.

AND the few inſtructions, with reſpect to the eſtabliſhed religion and the prieſts of thoſe days, are not unapplicable to our preſent times. Nor can it be ſaid, but that the ſpirit of piety, and deference to ſuperior powers, which runs through the whole, though blended with the eſtabliſhed rights, does in ſome meaſure relate to real religion, and muſt needs be pleaſing to thoſe who have a ſenſe of it.

THE following papers contain a plain tranſlation of the *Cyropædia*, or Inſtitution of *Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*, who lived about four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, in an age productive of great men; though it was the age in which expired thoſe noble forms of government, to which all future ages are indebted for literature, and all noble knowledge. He ſaw the republics of *Greece*, after their brave defence againſt the *Perſian* power in the age before, by wars amongſt themſelves nurſed up a brood of mercenaries to be their own deſtruction, which was compleated by *Philip* of *Macedon* at the battle of *Chæronea*. He was a friend and diſciple of *Socrates*, that great man who was a remarkable inſtance of what is before obſerved with reſpect to the conſequences of broken governments; for he fell a ſacrifice to faction; and one of his accuſations was a diſregard to the eſtabliſhed religion; he who had evidently the utmoſt regard to real religion, had as much knowledge of it as was poſſible, and was ever ſtrictly obſervant of the eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed forms: his diſciple *Xenophon* felt likewiſe the diſpleaſure of his countrymen the *Athenians*, for his partiality to the intereſts of *Sparta*, and of conſequence for not favouring the turbulent ambitious meaſures that his own city approved. *Xenophon* was extremely beautiful in his perſon*; and had great modeſty, and goodneſs of temper. He was a man of great knowledge and learning; but it was of an ingenuous, noble, gentleman-like ſort, not ſedentary, nor pedantic, and not ſervile, as all learning may juſtly be called that is acquired to get money or maintenance by; he was a great maſter of political and military ſkill; he was extremely religious, and very knowing in all the eſtabliſhed rights and ceremonies, of which he was a ſtrict obſerver upon all occaſions. The precept he puts into the mouth of *Cambyſes*, father of *Cyrus*, never to engage in any action without conſulting the gods, makes a remarkable paſſage in his book to this purpoſe. He puts ſeveral caſes wherein men had ſadly miſcarried by means of neglect in this kind, and though he do not name perſons, yet it ſeems evident, that he had his eye to particular men, well known to himſelf, and to his countrymen in thoſe days. And what he ſays of certain perſons, who had engaged their country in ruinous wars, ſeems evidently meant of *Alcibiades*, who engaged the *Athenians* in other wars, as well as particularly that of *Sicily* †; which brought deſtruction or ſervitude upon all ſuch of them as were perſonally engaged in that ſervice, and in the conſequence occaſioned the loſs of their government and city. *Alcibiades* was likewiſe very beautiful in his perſon, was undoubtedly maſter of many civil arts; had eloquence, bravery, and military ſkill:

* Diog. Laer. Life of Xenophon.
† Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.

but

but with reſpect to religion and virtue, he was the reverſe of *Xenophon*; he had no ſenſe of it, but was what one may juſtly call a free-thinker of thoſe days, and expreſſed it by a contempt of what his country held ſacred. *Xenophon*'s manner of pointing him out thus, allowing the application to be juſt, ſeems a direct charge upon him of impiety; and hiſtory ſufficiently juſtifies that charge.

As free-thinking is an expreſſion that has cauſed ſome diſcourſe in the world, and may admit of different ſenſes, perhaps you will not think it improper that ſome mention ſhould be made of it. It may ſignify a roving exerciſe of the mind, running over all or any of the ſubjects of ſcience idly and ſuperficially, without binding itſelf to any ſettled judgment of the truth of things, as if there were no ſuch thing as a rule of truth in nature. So liberty in government may be defined a liberty to act as will and humour guides, without regard to juſtice or law; as if there was no ſuch thing as juſtice to limit man in his conduct. *Julius Cæſar* ſaid, * that his words were to be taken for laws; that *commonwealth and public good was nothing; a mere name, without body or form.* † Virtue, ſay the free-thinkers of this ſort, is a mere word, as, *a ſacred grove is only a ſanctified expreſſion for a parcel of ſticks.* But true political liberty conſiſts in a ſtrict ſevere obedience to juſt and equal laws, and orders, eſtabliſhed for the public good; and it is called liberty, as it excludes dependence upon will and pleaſure, which is tyranny. So juſt freedom of thought is true ſcience, which conſiſts in the neceſſary determination of the underſtanding to the truth of things, when every means of diſcovering it has had its due weight in order to make the evidence

* Suetonius Jul. Cæſ.
† Horace, Epiſt. 6. Lib. i.

complete,

complete, and the deciſion juſt. But then, if any one thing affect the mind above its due proportion, the impreſſion it makes, prevents the mind's ſubmiſſion to truth. And if the impreſſion be very great, it cauſes madneſs, and eſtabliſhes a tyranny in the mind; to which the overgrown power of a prince, or grandees in the ſtate, may be compared as diſtraction and madneſs in government. Admiration of riches, of grandeur, of beauty of perſon, and other ſtrong impreſſions, tyrannize often in mens minds, obſtruct right judgments in religion and morals, and cauſe wrong practice; and love, grief, or fear, when exceſſive, overturns the ſound conſtitution of a mind; and ſoundneſs and conſiſtence of mind may be called freedom, as it excludes this tyranny of paſſion. As paſſion is a domeſtic oppreſſion of liberty of mind, ſo are there a ſort of foreign oppreſſors of it. Theſe are the *Hobbiſts* and the favourers of eccleſiaſtical tyranny. No real religion in the world, ſay theſe men; no rule of right, or public good in the ſtate; no virtue in man; but all depends upon tales authorized, and laws impoſed by power and will. Now true freedom of thought here is to aſſert a providence, wiſdom, and intelligence in the world; a rule and order in ſocieties of men upon the bottom of public good; virtue and worth in man; and a rule of truth in all things, which to diſcover is man's wiſdom; and to follow it is his virtue, freedom, and happineſs. But the abettors of free-thinking now a-days, ſeem to be men, who, having got a few ſteps above the biggotry of the poor multitude, are tranſported out of themſelves, * exult at their own imagined elevation, look down upon the reſt of men as wandring in the paths of error; and this they do with plea-

* Lucretius, Lib. ii. V. 7.

ſure.

ſure. * They addreſs themſelves with *Lucretius* to their goddeſs *Venus*, and her attendant pleaſures, and cultivate them in a vicious way; they ridicule what the public holds ſacred; they repreſent religion as a ſpectre oppreſſing the minds of men; and exclude deity from the world. Theſe anſwer to the ancient *Epicureans*, though none of them perhaps are equal to their patron *Epicurus*, who ſeemed to have more worth and goodneſs than was conſiſtent with his own maxims †. There was, in ancient times, another ſort of men, who, between the aſſertors of providence and virtue on one ſide, and the abettors of atheiſm and pleaſure on the other, oppoſed both of them in their opinions and in the proofs they brought to eſtabliſh them. Theſe were the ſceptics; and they maintained a total ſuſpence of opinion and abſence of paſſion ‡. They were men of great ability in reaſoning, and ſeemed to have laboured ſo much in the culture of that art, that they loſt ſight of truth and certainty. There may have been, perhaps, in our times, certain free-thinkers, affected mimicks of theſe men; but they ſeem to be far ſhort of them in their intenſe application of mind. Theſe modern ſceptics would ſcarce let their hair and nails grow, like *Carneades* §, nor be in danger of being over-run by chariots, torn by dogs, or of falling down precipices, without minding or avoiding it, like *Pyrrho*. They are rather looſe rovers through various opinions, ſincere in none; uſing any opinion to defeat a contrary one; borrowing arguments from the atheiſt to oppoſe the religioniſt, and borrowing from the religioniſt to defeat the atheiſt and *Epicurean*; adverſaries at times to all. This is ſo far

* Lucretius, Lib. i. V. 1. *&c.* V. 63. 79.
† Cicero Juſ. Queſt. Lib. ii.
‡ Diog. Laert. Pyrrho.
§ Diog. Laert.

from

from ſtrict application of mind, that it is an idle diſſolute proſtitution of it, and may be compared to the behaviour of ſuch men in the ſtate who favour neither one ſcheme nor another, nor cloſe with any intereſt ſincerely, nor are ſincerely neuter, but, as it ſerves their turn, are occaſionally zealous for every party, which is proſtitution in politics. This turn of mind has the ſame effect in private life; it acts the froliceſome, the burleſque, and the gay; the ſober, the ſerious, the auſtere; the religious and the profane; as humour guides, or as there is a turn to ſerve: It maintains no one genuine perſonage, but has a different maſk for every different ſcene, and it regards neither juſtice nor truth. This is proſtitution of another kind; and proſtitution of perſon compleats the corrupt character. * *Alcibiades* and *Julius Cæſar* had their ſhare of this character. And to inſtance in one of a degree inferior to theſe, *Menon* was of this ſort; one who was an officer that attended the younger *Cyrus* in his expedition againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*, and who is thus characteriſed by *Xenophon*. "He was a paſſionate lover of money; "he loved power and command that he might get "by it; and he loved honours in order ſtill to make "the more advantage. He affected the friendſhip "of men in power, to eſcape the puniſhment of his "injuſtice. He thought, that the ſhorteſt way to "gain his ends was by perjury, falſehood, and de-"ceit. Simplicity and truth he thought the ſame "with folly. He apparently loved no one. Who-"ever he profeſſed himſelf a friend to, he was evi-"dently plotting miſchief againſt. He contemned "no enemy, but converſed always in ſuch a manner "with his friends as if he ridiculed and laughed at "them. He formed no deſigns to ſeize the poſſeſ-

* Plutarch. Suetonius.

"ſions

" ſions of his enemies, for he thought it difficult to
" prey upon ſuch as were upon their guard; but he
" thought himſelf the only perſon who knew that it
" was the eaſieſt thing in the world to ſeize the un-
" guarded poſſeſſions of his friends. Thoſe that he
" obſerved to be unjuſt and regardleſs of oaths, he
" feared as men well prepared and armed; men of
" piety and truth, as weak and unmanly, he endea-
" voured to make his uſes of. The pleaſure that
" another takes in religion, truth, and juſtice, he took
" in being able to deceive, in falſehood, and ridi-
" culing his friends. The man who was not a knave
" he thought ignorant and ſilly. Thoſe with whom
" he affected to be a chief favourite, he thought he
" was to gain by calumniating their chief friends.
" His contrivance to render his ſoldiers obedient to
" him, was to ſhare with them in their crimes. He
" required reſpect and ſervice, by ſhewing that it
" was both in his power and in his will to do inju-
" ries. When any one had renounced his friend-
" ſhip, he declared that it was an act of bounty in
" him, that while he uſed him as a friend he did
" not ruin him. He lived in an infamous commerce
" with one *Thurypas*, who was older than himſelf,
" and was himſelf a proſtitute in his youth to the
" barbarian *Ariceus*."

THIS Treatiſe of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus* is undoubtedly fabulous: The *Iliad* and *Odyſſeid* of *Homer* are fables likewiſe, though of another kind. And there is certainly no more pretence to truth or fact in this of *Xenophon*, than thoſe of *Homer*; yet the whole of it is ſo true to nature, that it may be ſaid to be almoſt as natural as if it were really fact, and, of conſequence, as inſtructive; and perhaps more inſtructive than what is called real hiſtory, there being very little of that which is not abundantly more falſe to fact, than theſe ancient fables are to nature.

There

There is indeed a plainneſs and ſimplicity in this piece of *Xenophon*'s that may ſeem childiſh and contemptible to ſome judgments; but what our Saviour ſaid to his diſciples when he placed a child in the midſt of them, **Unleſs you become as little children, you ſhall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*; and what he ſays in another place, † *When the eye is ſingle, the whole body is full of light*, may be applied to the diſpoſition of the mind, with reſpect to all other good knowledge, as well as with reſpect to religion. Your diſpoſition of mind is thus chaſte and ſingle, and you therefore will perhaps not be diſpleaſed with this.

THERE have been ſome who have imagined, that the eſtabliſhments made by *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus* are a model of perfect government: Others, however, will reckon, that *Cyrus* is no more propoſed as a model to be followed, than *Achilles* is in the *Iliad* of *Homer*. The wrathful great man, and the effects of his wrath, are plainly ſeen in the *Iliad*; and the ambitious great man, and the effects of his ambition, are as plainly to be ſeen in the *Cyreid*. The arts that *Cyrus* uſed with private men, and with whole nations, in order to gain them to his purpoſe, were certainly right; but this does not prove that that purpoſe of his was honeſt. In like manner, all his regulations, with reſpect to the eſtabliſhment of his ſcheme of tyranny, were as certainly rightly contrived to ſerve that end; but yet this is no proof, that ſuch tyranny is not a moſt unjuſt, unequal, and barbarous eſtabliſhment. And when the foundation and riſe of the empire of *Cyrus* is directly aſcribed to a free government; when his own education under ſuch a government appears to be the foundation of all the virtue that he has; and when the effects of this empire erected, are declared to be a general defection from all virtue in the

* Matt. xviii. 3. xix. 14. † Matt. vi. 22.

people,

people, and the misery of the prince's own family; then let any one judge, whether the moral of this fable of *Xenophon*'s does decide in favour of tyranny?

I KNOW the affectionate concern you have for the liberty of your country, which you value, that the integrity and simplicity of human minds may be protected, and not overborne by tyrannical impositions, or debauched by imposture; that they may be kept as the chaste spouse of divine truth; and that innocence and virtue may not be violated by the ungoverned passions of the mighty. I know the joy you ever expressed for your country's successes in a just war; you will therefore allow this to be my excuse, for thinking these subjects not improper for your entertainment. I cannot but believe, that even the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the learned in the law of our present age, would readily excuse the addressing these matters to a lady, when they should consider that this is but the translation (and indeed pretends to be no very good one) of a book, where these subjects are treated in a childish romantic way, and not so suitable to their understandings. They will be little concerned that such an author should recommend the sciences, and arts of war and government, of justice and religion, to the study of the gentleman; for by means of ignorance in these things, the gentleman is rendered incapable of judging, whether the mercenary in these professions do their duty for their money; the noblest arts are thus left to the mercenary alone, and they become the guides and governors of the world.

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

I Have heretofore conſidered how many popular governments have been diſſolved by men who choſe to live under any other ſort of government rather than the popular; and how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been deſtroyed by the people; and how many of thoſe who have attempted tyrannies, have, ſome of them, been inſtantly and entirely deſtroyed; and others, if they have continued reigning but for any time, have been admired as able, wiſe, and happy men. And I thought I obſerved many maſters, in their own private houſes, ſome poſſeſſing more ſervants, ſome but very few, who yet were not able to preſerve thoſe few entirely obedient to their commands. I conſidered withal

that

that keepers of oxen, and keepers of horſes, are as it were the magiſtrates and rulers of thoſe oxen and horſes; and in general all thoſe called paſtors or herdſmen may be properly accounted the magiſtrates of the animals they rule. I ſaw, I thought, all theſe ſeveral herds more willing to obey their paſtors, than men their magiſtrates. For theſe herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on thoſe lands upon which their keepers throw them; they abſtain from thoſe from which their keepers drive them; They ſuffer their keepers to make what uſe they pleaſe of the fruits and profits that ariſe from them: Beſides I never did perceive a herd conſpiring againſt its keepers, either ſo as not to obey them, or ſo as not to allow them the uſe of the fruits ariſing from them. Herds are rather more refractory towards any others than they are towards their rulers and thoſe who make profit of them; but men conſpire againſt none ſooner, than again thoſe, whom they perceive undertaking the government of them. When theſe things were in my mind, I came to this judgment upon them; That to man, it was eaſier to rule every other ſort of creature than to rule man. But when I conſidered that there was the *Perſian Cyrus*, who had rendered many men, many cities and many nations, obedient to himſelf; upon this I was neceſſitated to change my opinion, and to think that the government of men was not amongſt the things that were impoſſible, nor amongſt the things that are difficult, if one undertook it with underſtanding and ſkill. I knew

there

there were thoſe that willingly obeyed *Cyrus*, who were many days journey diſtant from him; thoſe who were months; thoſe who had never ſeen him; and thoſe who knew very well that they never ſhould ſee him; yet would they ſubmit to his government. For he ſo far excelled all other kings, both thoſe that received their dominion by ſucceſſion, as well as thoſe that acquired it themſelves, that the *Scythian* (for example) though his people be very numerous, has not been able to obtain the dominion of any other nation; but reſts ſatisfied if he hold but the rule of his *own*; the *Thracian* the ſame; the *Illyrian* the ſame; and other nations (as I have heard) the ſame. For the nations of *Europe* are ſaid to be yet ſovereign and independent of each other. But *Cyrus* finding in like manner the nations of *Aſia* ſovereign and independent and ſetting forward with a little army of *Perſians*, obtained the dominion of the *Medes* by their own choice and voluntary ſubmiſſion; of the *Hircanians* the ſame. He conquered the *Syrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Arabs*, *Cappadocians*, both *Phrygias*, the *Lydians*, *Carians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Babylonians*. He ruled the *Bactrians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*; in like manner the *Sacians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Megadinians*, and many other nations, whoſe names one cannot enumerate: He ruled the *Greeks* that were ſettled in *Aſia*; and deſcending to the ſea the *Cyprians* and *Ægyptians*. Theſe nations he ruled, though their languages differed from his own and from each other; and yet was he able to extend the fear of himſelf over ſo great a part of the

world, as to aſtoniſh all, and that no one attempted any thing againſt him. He was able to inſpire all with ſo great a deſire of pleaſing him, that they even deſired to be governed by his opinion and will. He connected together ſo many nations, as would be a labour to enumerate, to whatſoever point one undertook to direct one's courſe, whether it were eaſt, weſt, north, or ſouth, ſetting out from his palace and ſeat of empire. With reſpect therefore to this man, as worthy of admiration, I have enquired by what birth, with what natural diſpoſition, and under what diſcipline and education bred, he ſo much excelled in the art of governing men. And whatever I have learnt, or think I know concerning him, I ſhall endeavour to relate.

CYRUS is ſaid to be deſcended from *Cambyſes* king of the *Perſians* as his father. *Cambyſes* was of the race of the *Perſeidæ*, who were ſo called from *Perſeus*. It is agreed that he was born of a mother called *Mandane*; and *Mandane* was the daughter of *Aſtyages* king of the *Medes*. *Cyrus* is ſaid to have had by nature a moſt beautiful perſon, and a mind of the greateſt benignity and love to mankind, moſt deſirous of knowledge, and moſt ambitious of glory; ſo as to bear any pain, and undergo any danger for the ſake of praiſe: And he is yet celebrated as ſuch among the *barbarians*. Such is he recorded to have been with reſpect to his mind and perſon; and he was educated under the inſtitutions and laws of the *Perſians*.

THESE laws ſeem to begin with a provident care of the common good; not where thoſe of moſt other

govern-

governments begin; for moſt other governments, giving to all a liberty of educating their children as they pleaſe, and to the advanced in age a liberty of living as they pleaſe, do then enjoin their people not to ſteal, nor to plunder, not to enter a houſe by violence, not to ſtrike unjuſtly, not to be adulterous, not to diſobey the magiſtrates, and other things in like manner; and if any tranſgreſs, they impoſe puniſhments upon them. But the *Perſian* laws taking things higher, are careful from the beginning to provide that their citizens ſhall not be ſuch as to be capable of meddling with any action that is baſe and vile. And that care, they take in this manner. They have a public place called from the name of liberty, where the king's palace and the other courts and houſes of magiſtrates are built: All things that are bought and ſold and the dealers in them, their noiſe and low diſingenuous manners, are baniſhed hence to another place; that the rout of theſe may not mix and interfere with the decent order of thoſe who are under the ingenuous diſcipline. This place, near the public courts, is divided into four parts; one is allotted to the boys, one the youth, one to the full-grown men, and one to thoſe who exceed the years of military ſervice. Each of theſe orders according to the law, attend in their ſeveral parts; the boys and full-grown men as ſoon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days when they are obliged to be preſent; the youth take up their reſt round the courts in their light arms; all but ſuch as

are married; theſe are not required to do it, unleſs before-hand ordered to attend; nor is it decent for them to be abſent often. Over each of the orders there are twelve rulers; for the *Perſians* are divided into twelve tribes. Thoſe over the boys are choſen from among the elders; and ſuch as are thought to make them the beſt boys: Thoſe over the youth are choſen from amongſt the full-grown men, and ſuch as are thought to make the beſt youth: And over the full-grown men, ſuch as are thought to render them the moſt ready to perform their appointed parts, and to execute the orders they receive from the chief magiſtrate. There are likewiſe choſen, preſidents over the elders, who take care that theſe alſo perform their duty. And that it may appear what means they uſe to make their citizens prove the beſt, I ſhall now relate what part is appointed for each degree.

The boys who frequent the public places of inſtruction, paſs their time in learning juſtice, and tell you that they go for that purpoſe, as thoſe with us who go to learn letters tell you that they go for that purpoſe. Their rulers for the moſt part of the day continue diſperſing juſtice amongſt them. For as amongſt the men, ſo the boys have againſt each other their accuſations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit and calumny, and other ſuch things as naturally occur; and when they find any acting unjuſtly, in any of theſe ways, they puniſh them; they puniſh likewiſe ſuch as they find guilty of falſe accuſation; they appeal to juſtice alſo in the caſe of a crime for which

men

men hate one another exceſſively, but never bring to the bar of juſtice, that is, ingratitude; and whomſoever they find able to return a benefit, and refuſing to do it, they puniſh ſeverely. For they are of opinion that the ungrateful, are careleſs and neglectful both of the gods, of their parents, of their county, and of their friends; and ingratitude ſeems to be certainly attended by impudence; and this ſeems to be the principal conductor of mankind into all things that are vile. They inſtill into the boys a modeſt and deſcreet temper of mind; and it contributes much towards eſtabliſhing this temper in them, that they ſee every day their elders behaving themſelves in that diſcreet and modeſt manner. They teach them obedience to their rulers, and it contributes much to their inſtruction in this, that they ſee their elders zealouſly obedient to their rulers. They teach them temperance with reſpect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this their temperance to ſee that their elders do not quit their ſtations for the ſervice of their bellies, before the magiſtrates diſmiſs them, and that the boys do not eat with their mothers, but with their teachers, and when the magiſtrates give the ſignal. They bring from home with them bread for their food, and a ſort of herb much in uſe with them, to eat with it. And they bring a cup to drink in, that if any are thirſty, they may take from the river. They learn beſides to ſhoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. Theſe things the boys practiſe till they are ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age; they then

enter the order of youth. The youth paſs their time thus: For ten years after they paſs from the order of boys, they take their reſts around the courts, as is ſaid before, both for the ſecurity and guard of the city, and to preſerve in them a modeſty and governableneſs of temper; for this age ſeems the moſt to need care. In the day time they chiefly give themſelves up to be made uſe of by their magiſtrates in caſe they want them for any public ſervice; and when it is neceſſary they all attend about the courts. But when the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the guard off with him; and this he does ſeveral times every month. Thoſe that go muſt have their bow and quiver, a ſmaller ſort of ſword in its proper ſcabbard, a ſhield and two javelins; one to throw, and the other, if neceſſary, to uſe at hand. They are careful to keep up theſe public huntings; and the king as in war, is in this their leader; hunts himſelf, and takes care that others do ſo; becauſe it ſeems to be the trueſt method of practiſing all ſuch things as relate to war. It accuſtoms them to riſe early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exerciſes them in long marches, and in running; it neceſſitates them to uſe their bow againſt the beaſt they hunt, and to throw the javelin if he fall in their way; their courage muſt of neceſſity be often ſharpened in the hunt, when any of the ſtrong and vigorous beaſts oppoſe themſelves; they muſt come to blows with the beaſt, if he comes up with them, and muſt be upon their guard as he comes upon them. So that it

it is no eaſy matter to find what one thing there is that is practiſed in war, and is not ſo in their hunting. They attend this hunting, being provided with a dinner, larger indeed (as is but fit) than that of the boys; but in all other reſpects the ſame, and during the hunt ſometimes perhaps they ſhall not eat it, either waiting for the beaſt if it be neceſſary, or chooſing to ſpend more time at the work; ſo they make their ſupper of that dinner; hunt again the next day, till the time of ſupper; and reckon theſe two days as but one, becauſe they have eat the food but of one day. This they do to accuſtom themſelves, that in caſe it may be neceſſary for them in war, they may be able to do it. They of this degree have what they catch for meat with their bread. If they catch nothing, then they have their uſual herb. And if any one think that they eat without pleaſure, when they have this herb only for food with their bread, and that they drink without pleaſure when they drink water, let him recollect how pleaſant it is to one who is hungry to eat plain cake or bread; and how pleaſant to one who is thirſty to drink water. The tribes that remain at home paſs their time in practiſing the things they learned while they were boys, in ſhooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin. Theſe they continue exerciſing in emulation one againſt another; and there are public games in theſe kinds, and prizes ſet; and in which ſoever of the tribes there are the moſt found who exceed in ſkill, in courage,, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the preſent ruler

ruler of them, but alſo the perſon who had the inſtruction of them while boys. The magiſtrates likewiſe make uſe of the remaining youth, if they want them, to keep guard upon any occaſion, or to ſearch for criminal perſons, to purſue robbers, or for any other buſineſs that requires ſtrength and agility. Theſe things the youth practiſe; and when they have compleated ten years, they enter into the order of full-grown men. Theſe, from the time they leave the order of youth, paſs five nnd twenty years in this manner. Firſt, as the youth, they give themſelves up to be made uſe of by the magiſtrates upon any occaſion that may occur for the ſervice of the public, and that requires the ſervice of ſuch as have diſcretion, and are yet in vigour. If ſome military expedition be neceſſary to be undertaken, they who are under this degree of diſcipline do not engage in it, with bow and javelins, but with what they call arms for cloſe fight, a corſelet about the breaſt, a ſhield in the left hand, ſuch as the *Perſians* are painted with, and in the right a larger ſort of ſword. All the magiſtrates are choſen from amongſt theſe, except the teachers of the boys, and when they have compleated five and twenty years in this order, they are then ſomething upwards of fifty years of age, and paſs into the order of ſuch as are elders, and are ſo called. Theſe elders are not obliged to attend any military ſervice abroad, but remaining at home, have the diſtribution of public and private juſtice, have judgment of life and death, and the choice of all magiſtrates; and if any of the youth

youth or full grown men, fail in any thing enjoined by the laws, the philarchs or magiſtrates of the tribes, or any one that will, make diſcovery of it, the elders hear the cauſe and give judgment upon it; and the perſon ſo judged and condemned, remains infamous for the reſt of his life.

THAT the whole *Perſian* form of government may the more plainly appear, I return a little back; for by means of what has been already ſaid, it may now be laid open in a very few words. The *Perſians* are ſaid to be in number about twelve myriads, or a hundred and twenty thouſand; of theſe none are by law excluded from honours and magiſtracies, but all are at liberty to ſend their boys to the public ſchools of juſtice. They who are able to maintain their children idle, and without labour, ſend them to theſe ſchools. They who are not able do not ſend them. They who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to paſs through the order of youth: They who are not ſo educated have not that liberty: They who paſs thorough the youth, fully diſcharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongſt the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magiſtracies: But they who do not compleat their courſe through the order of boys, and through that of the youth, do not paſs into the order of the full-grown men. They who make their progreſs through the order of the full-grown men unexceptionably, become then of the elders: So the order of elders ſtands compoſed of

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men who have made their way through all things good and excellent. And this is the form of government by the uſe of which, they think they become the beſt men. There yet remain things that bear teſtimony to the ſpare diet, uſed among the *Perſians*, and to their carrying it off by exerciſe; For it is even yet ſhameful among them to be ſeen either to ſpit or to blow the noſe, or to appear full of wind: It is ſhameful for any one to be ſeen going aſide either to make water, or any ſuch matter; and theſe things could not poſſibly be, unleſs they uſed a very temperate diet, and ſpent the moiſture by exerciſe, making it paſs ſome other way.

THESE things I had to ſay concerning the *Perſians* in general. I will now relate the actions of *Cyrus*, upon whoſe account this diſcourſe was undertaken, beginning from his being a boy. *Cyrus* till twelve years of age or little more, was educated under this diſcipline, and appeared to excel all his equals, both in his quick learning of what was fit, and in his performing every thing in a handſome and in a manly way. At that time *Aſtyages* ſent for his daughter and her ſon; for he was deſirous to ſee him, having heard that he was an excellent and lovely child. *Mandane* therefore came to her father, and brought her ſon with her. As ſoon as they arrived, and *Cyrus* knew *Aſtyages* to be his mother's father, he inſtantly, as being a boy of a great good nature, embraced him juſt as if he had been bred under him, and had long had an affection for him: And obſerving him

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ſet out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with falſe hair, things that are allowed amongſt the *Medes*, (for the purple coat, the rich habit called candys, collars about the neck, and bracelets about the hands, all belong to the *Medes*; but amongſt the inhabitants of *Perſia*, even at this day, their habits are much coarſer, and their diet much plainer,) obſerving this dreſs of his grandfather, and looking at him, ſaid, "O mother, how "handſome is my grandfather?" And his mother then aſking him which he thought the handſomer either his father or his grandfather; *Cyrus* anſwered, "Of the *Perſians*, mother, my father is much the "handſomeſt; and of all the *Medes* that I have ſeen "either upon the road or within the city, this grand-"father of mine is much the handſomeſt." *Aſtyages* then embracing *Cyrus*, in return, put him on a fine robe; honoured him and ſet him out with collars and bracelets; and whenever he went abroad carried him with him, mounted upon a horſe with a bridle of gold, and ſuch as he uſed himſelf to appear abroad upon. *Cyrus* being a boy much in love with what was fine and honourable, was pleaſed with the robe; and extremely delighted with learning to ride; for among the *Perſians*, it being difficult to breed horſes, and even difficult to ride, the country being mountainous, it is a rare thing to ſee a horſe. But *Aſtyages* being at table with his daughter, and with *Cyrus*, and being deſirous to treat the boy with all poſſible delight and pleaſure, that he might the leſs

miſs

miſs what he enjoyed at home, ſet before him ſeveral diſhes with ſauces and meats of all kinds; upon which *Cyrus* is reported to have ſaid, "What a deal of "buſineſs and trouble, grandfather, have you at your "meals, if you muſt reach out your hands to all theſe "ſeveral diſhes, and taſte of all theſe kind of meats?" "What, then, ſaid *Aſtyages*, do not you think this "entertainment much finer than what you have in "*Perſia?*" *Cyrus* to this is ſaid to reply, "No, "grandfather; with us we have a much plainer and "readier way to get ſatisfied than you have; for "plain bread and meat brings us to our end, but you "in order to the ſame end, have a deal of buſineſs "upon your hands, and wandering up and down "through many mazes, you at laſt ſcarce arrive where "we have got long before you." "But child, "ſaid *Aſtyages*, it is not with pain that we wander "through theſe mazes; taſte, ſaid he, and you will "find that theſe things are pleaſant." "Well but "grandfather, ſaid *Cyrus*, I ſee that you yourſelf have "an averſion to theſe ſauces and things." "What "ground, replied *Aſtyages*, have you to ſay ſo?" Be-"cauſe, ſaid he, when you touch your bread, I ſee "you do not wipe your hands upon any thing, but "when you meddle with any of theſe, you preſently "clean your hands upon your napkin, as if you were "very uneaſy to have them daubed with them." To this *Aſtyages* is ſaid to have anſwered, "Well, child, "if this be your opinion, eat heartily of plain meats, "that you may return young and healthy home;"

and at the ſame time he is ſaid to have preſented to him various meats, both of the tame and wild kinds; *Cyrus*, when he ſaw this variety of meats, is reported to have ſaid, "And do you give me all theſe meats, "grandfather, to do with them as I think fit?" "Yes truly I do," ſaid *Aſtyages*; then *Cyrus* taking of the ſeveral meats, is ſaid to have diſtributed around to the ſervants about his grandfather, ſaying to one, "This for you, becauſe you take pains to teach me "to ride; This for you, becauſe you gave me a "javelin; for I have it at this time; This for you, "becauſe you ſerve my grandfather well; This for "you, becauſe you honour my mother;" and that thus he did till he had diſtributed away all he received. *Aſtyages* is then reported to have ſaid, "And "do you give nothing to this *Sacian*, my cup-bearer, "that I favour above all?" This *Sacian* was a very beautiful perſon, and had the honour to introduce to *Aſtyages*, any that had buſineſs with him, and was to hinder thoſe that he did not think it ſeaſonable to introduce. *Cyrus* to this is ſaid to have anſwered, in a pert manner, as a boy not yet ſtruck with the ſenſe of ſhame, "For what reaſon is it, grandfather, that "you favour this *Sacian* ſo much?" *Aſtyages* replied, in a jeſting way, "Do not you ſee, ſaid he, how "handſomely and neatly he pours me my wine?" For theſe cup-bearers to kings perform their buſineſs very cleverly, they pour out their wine very neatly, and give the cup, bearing it along with three fingers, and preſent it in ſuch a manner as it may beſt be received

by

by the perſon who is to drink. "Grandfather, ſaid "*Cyrus*, bid the *Sacian* give me the cup, that, pouring "you your wine to drink, I may gain your favour if "I can." *Aſtyages* bids the *Sacian* give him the cup; and *Cyrus* taking it, is ſaid to have waſhed the cup as he had obſerved the *Sacian* to do; and ſettling his countenance in a ſerious and decent manner, brought and preſented the cup to his grandfather in ſuch a manner as afforded much laughter to his mother and to *Aſtyages*. Then *Cyrus*, laughing out, leapt up to his grandfather, and, kiſſing him, cried out, "O *Sa-* "*cian*, you are undone, I will turn you out of your "office; I will do the buſineſs better than you, and "not drink the wine myſelf." For theſe cup-bearers when they have given the cup, dip with a diſh and take a little out, which pouring into their left hand they ſwallow; and this they do that in caſe they mix poiſon in the cup it may be of no advantage to themſelves. Upon this *Aſtyages*, in a jeſting way, ſaid, "And why, *Cyrus*, ſince you have imitated the *Sacian* "in every thing elſe, did not you ſwallow ſome of the "wine?" Becauſe truly, ſaid he, I was afraid there had "been poiſon mixed in the cup; for when you feaſted "you friends upon your birth-day, I plainly found "that he had poured you all poiſon:" "And how, "child, ſaid he, did you know this? Truly, ſaid he, "becauſe I ſaw you all diſordered in body and mind; "for firſt what you do not allow us boys to do, that "you did yourſelves; for you all bawled together, and "could learn nothing of each other: Then you fell

"to

" to ſinging very ridiculouſly; and without attending
" to the ſinger, you ſwore he ſung admirably; then
" every one telling ſtories of his own ſtrength, you
" roſe up and fell to dancing; but without all rule
" or meaſure, for you could not ſo much as keep
" yourſelves upright. Then you all entirely forgot
" yourſelves; you, that you were king, and they, that
" you were their governor. And then for the firſt
" time I diſcovered that you were celebrating a feſti-
" val, where all were allowed to talk with equal
" liberty; for you never ceaſed talking." *Aſtyages* then ſaid, " Does your father, child, never drink
" till he gets drunk?" " No, truly" ſaid he. " What
" does he then?" " Why he quenches his thirſt and
" gets no farther harm, for, as I take it, grandfather,
" ſays he, it is no *Sacian* that officiates as cup-bearer
" about him." His mother then ſaid, " But why,
" child, do you make war thus upon the *Sacian?*"
Cyrus to this is ſaid to reply, " Why truly becauſe
" I hate him; for very often when I am deſirous to
" run to my grandfather, this naſty fellow hinders
" me. Pray grandfather, ſaid he, let me but have the
" government of him but for three days." " How
" would you govern him, ſaid *Aſtyages?*" *Cyrus* replied, " Why, ſtanding as he does juſt at the en-
" trance, when he had a mind to go in to dinner, then
" would I tell him that he could not poſſibly have
" his dinner yet, becauſe *He was buſy with certain*
" *people*; then when he came to ſupper, I would tell
" him, that *He was bathing*; and if he was very preſſ-

" ing for his victuals, I would tell him that *He was*
" *with the women*; and so on, till I had tormented
" him, as he torments me, when he keeps me from
" you." Such like subjects of mirth did he afford them at meals: At other times of the day, if he perceived his grandfather or his mother's brother in want of any thing, it was a difficult matter for any one to be beforehand with him in doing it. For *Cyrus* was extremely delighted to gratify them in any thing that lay in his power. But when *Mandane* was preparing to return home to her husband, *Astyages* desired her to leave *Cyrus* with him. She made answer, " That she was willing to gratify
" her father in every thing; but to leave the child
" against his will she thought hard." Upon this occasion *Astyages* says to *Cyrus*, " Child, if you will
" stay with me, in the first place the *Sacian* shall
" not have the command of your access to me; but
" whenever you would come it shall be in your own
" power, and the oftner you will come, said he, the
" more I shall think myself obliged to you. Then
" you shall have the use of all my horses, and of as
" many more as you please; and when you go away,
" you shall take as many of them as you please
" with you: Then at meals you shall take what way
" you please to get satisfied in what you think a tempe-
" rate way: Then all the several creatures that are
" now in the park, I give you; and will besides collect
" more of all kinds, that you may pursue them when
" you have learnt to ride, and with your bow and javelin

" lay

" lay them proſtrate on the ground, as grown men do.
" Boys I will furniſh you with, for play-fellows; and
" whatever elſe you would have, do but tell me, and
" you ſhall not go without." When *Aſtyages* had ſaid this, *Cyrus*'s mother aſked him whether he would go or ſtay? He did not at all heſitate, but preſently ſaid, that he would ſtay. And being aſked by his mother the reaſon why, it is ſaid that he made anſwer, " Be-
" cauſe, mother, that at home, both at the bow and
" javelin, I am ſuperior to all of equal age with me,
" and am ſo reckoned; but here, I well know that
" in horſemanſhip I am their inferior; and be it
" known to you, mother, this grieves me very much.
" But if you leave me here, and I learn to be a horſe-
" man, then I reckon that when I am in *Perſia*, I
" ſhall eaſily maſter them there who are ſo good at all
" exerciſes on foot; and when I come amongſt the
" *Medes*, I ſhall endeavour to be an aſſiſtant and a
" ſupport to my grandfather, making myſelf the
" moſt ſkilful amongſt thoſe who excel in horſe-
" manſhip." His mother is then reported to have ſaid, " But how, child, will you be inſtructed here in
" the knowlege of juſtice, when your teachers are
" there?" " O mother, ſaid *Cyrus*, that I underſtand
" exactly already." How ſo?" ſaid *Mandane*. " Be-
" cauſe my teacher, ſaid he, appointed me judge over
" others, as being very exact in the knowlege of
" juſtice myſelf. But yet, ſaid he, I had ſome ſtripes
" given me, as not determining right in one judgment
" that I gave; the caſe was this: A bigger boy, who

" had a little coat, ſtripping a leſs boy who had a
" larger, puts upon the little boy the coat that was his
" own, and puts on himſelf the coat that was the lit-
" tle boy's. I therefore paſſing judgment upon them,
" decreed, that it was beſt that each ſhould keep
" the coat that beſt fitted him. Upon this my teacher
" thraſhed me, and told me, that when I ſhould be
" conſtituted judge of what fited beſt I ſhould deter-
" mine in this manner: But when I was to judge
" whoſe the coat was, then, ſaid he, it muſt be enquired
" what right poſſeſſion is; whether he that took a
" thing by force, ſhould have it, or whether he who
" made it, or purchaſed it, ſhould poſſeſs it; and then
" he told me, that what was according to law was juſt;
" and that what was contrary to law was violent: He
" bid me take notice therefore, that a judge ought to
" give his opinion with the law. So mother, ſaid he, I
" underſtand what is juſt in all caſes very exactly; or if
" any thing be wanting to me, my grandfather here will
" teach it me." " But child, ſays ſhe, the ſame things
" are not accounted juſt with your grandfather here
" and yonder in *Perſia*. For amongſt the *Medes* your
" grandfather has made himſelf lord and maſter of all;
" but amongſt the *Perſians*, it is accounted juſt that
" all ſhould be equally dealt by; and your father is
" the firſt to execute the orders impoſed upon the whole
" ſtate, and receives thoſe orders himſelf; his own hu-
" mour is not his rule and meaſure, but it is the law
" that is ſo. How can you avoid being beat to death at
" home, when you come from your grandfather inſtruct-
" ed

" ed not in kingly arts, but in the arts and manners of
" tyranny; one of which is, to think that power and aſ-
" cendant over all is your due?" " O mother, ſaid
" *Cyrus*, your father is much better able to teach one to
" ſubmit than to take the aſcendant. Do not you ſee,
" ſaid he, that he has taught all the *Medes* to ſubmit to
" him? So be well aſſured that your father will not
" diſmiſs me, nor any one from about him, inſtructed
" how to gain power and aſcendant over others."

MANY ſuch kind of diſcourſes did *Cyrus* hold; at laſt his mother went away; he ſtayed, and was there brought up. He immediately joined himſelf to thoſe that were his equals in age, ſo as to be upon a very familiar and friendly foot with them. And he preſently gained their fathers, both by viſiting them, and by giving evidence of his affection to their ſons. So that if they had any buſineſs with the king, they bid their boys aſk *Cyrus* to do it; and *Cyrus*, ſuch was his benignity and love of eſteem and praiſe, did his utmoſt to accompliſh it for them: And *Aſtyages* had it not in his power to refuſe gratifying *Cyrus* in whatever he aſked of him. For *Cyrus*, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him; never ceaſed from tears; and made it evident to all, that he was in the utmoſt fear of his dying: And in the night, if *Aſtyages* wanted any thing, *Cyrus* was the firſt to perceive it, and ſtarted up the nimbleſt of any to ſerve him, in any thing that he thought pleaſing to him. So that he entirely gained *Aſtyages*. *Cyrus* was perhaps a little over-talkative: But this he had partly from his education; his teacher obliging

him to give a reaſon for every thing that he did; and to hearken to it from others, when he was to give his opinion in judgment; and beſides, being very eager after knowlege, he was always aſking thoſe about him abundance of queſtions, how ſuch and ſuch things were; and upon whatever ſubject he was queſtioned by others, being of a very quick and ready apprehenſion, he inſtantly made his anſwers. So that from all theſe things he contracted an over-talkativeneſs. But as in the perſons of very young people, who have ſhot up ſuddenly ſo as to be very tall, there yet appears ſomething childiſh, that betrays their youth; ſo in *Cyrus*, it was not an impudence and boldneſs that appeared through that talkativeneſs, but a ſimplicity and good nature. So that one was deſirous rather to hear yet more from him, than to be with him while he held his tongue.

But as years added to his growth, and brought him on towards the time of his becoming a youth, he then uſed fewer words and a ſofter voice: He became full of ſhame, ſo as to bluſh when he came into the company of men of years. And that playful pertneſs, in bluntly accoſting every one, did not continue with him as before. So he became more ſoft and gentle, but in his converſation extremely agreeable. For in all the exerciſes, that he and his equals uſed in emulation to each other, he did not challenge his companions to thoſe in which he knew himſelf ſuperior; but ſuch as he well knew himſelf to be

be inferior in, thoſe he ſet on foot; declaring that he would do them better than they. Accordingly he would begin vaulting the horſe; throwing the javelin, or ſhooting with the bow on horſeback, while he was yet ſcarce well able to ſit on a horſe, and when he was outdone he was the firſt to laugh at himſelf. And as, upon the account of being baffled, he did not fly off, and meddle no more with the things he was ſo baffled in, but continued repeating his endeavours to do better, he preſently became equal to his companions in horſemanſhip, and by his love of the work quickly left them behind. He then preſently applied himſelf to the taking of the beaſts in the park, purſuing, throwing at them, and killing them; ſo that *Aſtyages* could no longer ſupply him with them. And *Cyrus*, perceiving that he could not furniſh him with theſe creatures, though very deſirous to do it, often ſaid to him, "What need you take ſo much pains, grandfather, to "find me out theſe creatures? If you will but ſend me "out a hunting with my uncle, I ſhall reckon that all "the beaſts I ſee are creatures that you maintain for "me." But though he was very deſirous to go a hunting, yet he could not now be preſſing and importunate as when he was a boy; he became very backward in going to his grandfather, and what he blamed in the *Sacian* for not admitting him to his grandfather, he became in this a *Sacian* to himſelf; for he never went in, unleſs he knew beforehand that it was ſeaſonable, and begged the *Sacian* by all means to ſignify to him when it was ſeaſonable and when not; ſo that the

Sacian now loved him extremely, as all the reſt did.

WHEN *Aſtyages*, therefore, knew that he was extremely deſirous to hunt abroad and at large, he ſent him out with his uncle, and ſent ſome elderly men on horſeback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in rough and rocky parts of the country, and in caſe any beaſts of the ſavage kind appeared. *Cyrus* therefore was very earneſt in enquiring of thoſe that attended him, what beaſts he was not to approach, and which thoſe were that he might confidently purſue. They told him, that bears had deſtroyed many that had ventured to approach them; and that lions, wild boars, and leopards had done the ſame; but that ſtags, wild-goats, wild-ſheep, and wild-aſſes were harmleſs things. They told him likewiſe, that rough and rocky places were not leſs to be taken care of than the beaſts; for that many, both men and horſes, had fallen headlong down precipices. *Cyrus* took all theſe inſtructions very eagerly; but as ſoon as he ſaw a ſtag rouſed, forgetting all that he had heard, he purſued, and looked at nothing but at that which he run; and his horſe taking a leap with him, fell upon his knees, and wanted but little of throwing him quite over his neck. However *Cyrus*, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horſe recovered. When they got into the plain he ſtruck the ſtag with his javelin, and brought him to the ground; a large noble creature it was, and he was moſt highly delighted. But his guardians coming up with him, chid and

reproved

reproved him; told him what danger he had run into, and ſaid they would tell it to his grandfather. *Cyrus* being alighted from his horſe, ſtood and heard this with much uneaſineſs: but hearing a halloo, he mounted his horſe at a leap, as in a ſort of enthuſiaſm, and as ſoon as he ſaw a boar ruſhing forward over-againſt him, he puſhed on upon him; and aiming right with his javelin, ſtruck the boar in the forehead. And here his uncle, ſeeing his boldneſs, reproved him; he, while his uncle was reproving him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beaſts that he had taken, and to give them to his grandfather; to this they ſay, his uncle replied, "But if he diſcover that "it is you that have purſued and taken them, he will "not only reprove you, but me for allowing you to do "it." "Let him beat me, ſays he, if he will, when "I have given them to him; and do you, if you will, "uncle, ſays he, correct me as you pleaſe, do but gra-"tify me in this." *Cyaxares* at laſt ſaid, "Well, do "as you pleaſe; for it is you that ſeem now to be "our king."

So *Cyrus* carrying off the beaſts, preſented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himſelf had taken them for him. The javelins he did not ſhew him; but laid them down all bloody, where he thought that he certainly would ſee them. *Aſtyages* ſaid, "Child, I receive with pleaſure whatever you give "me, but I am not in ſuch want of any of theſe things "as to run you into danger for them." "If you do

" not want them, grandfather, ſaid *Cyrus*, pray give " them to me; that I may diſtribute them to my com- " panions." " Child, ſaid *Aſtyages*, take them, and " diſtribute them to whom you pleaſe, and of every " thing elſe whatever you will," *Cyrus* taking the beaſts, gave them to the boys, and withal told them: " Boys, ſaid he, what very triflers were we, when " we hunted in the park? In my opinion, it was as " if one had tied the creatures by the leg and hunted " them; for firſt, we were within a narrow compaſs " of ground; then the creatures were poor, ſlender, " ſcabby things; one was lame, another maimed; " but the beaſts in the mountains and marſhes, how " fine, how large, and how ſleek they appear? The " ſtags, as if they had wings, leap to the very hea- " vens; the boars, as they ſay brave men do, attack " one hand to hand; and their bulk is ſuch that it " is impoſſible to miſs them. Theſe, even when they " are dead, ſays he, are, in my opinion, finer than " thoſe other walled up things when alive. But ſays " he, would your father, think you, ſend you out " a hunting?" " Yes very readily, ſaid they, if " *Aſtyages* ordered it." *Cyrus* then ſaid, " Who is " there amongſt you, therefore, that would mention " it to *Aſtyages*?" " Who more able, ſaid they, to " perſuade him than yourſelf?" " But truly ſaid " he, for my part, I know not what kind of creature " I am become; for I am neither able to ſpeak, " nor can I any longer ſo much as meet my grand- " father's eyes; and if I go on in this way ſo faſt,

" I fear,

"I fear, says he, I shall become a mere block-head "and fool; yet when I was a little boy I was thought "a notable talker." The boys then said, "You "tell us a sad piece of news, if you can do nothing "for us in case of need, but that we must beg that "of another, that is in your power to effect."

CYRUS hearing this, was nettled, and retiring without saying a word, he stirred himself up to boldness; and having contrived how to speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and to obtain for himself and the boys what they desired, he went in. Thus then he began; "Tell me, said he, "grandfather, if one of your domestic servants "should run away, and you should take him again; "what would you do with him?" "Why, said he, "what should I do but put him in chains, and force "him to work." "But if a run-away should of him-"self return to you, what would you do?" "What "else, said he, but have him whipped, that he may "do so no more, then make use of him as before?" "It is time, therefore, said *Cyrus*, to prepare your-"self to bestow a whipping upon me, as having "contrived to run away, and take my companions "with me a hunting." Then said *Astyages*, "You have "done very well to tell me before-hand. For hence-"forward I order you not to stir. It is a fine thing, "indeed, said he, if, for the sake of a little venison, "I shall send out my daughter's son to ramble at his "pleasure."

CYRUS

CYRUS hearing this, obeyed; and ſtayed at home much afflicted, carrying a melancholy countenance, and remained ſilent. *Aſtyages*, when he found that he was ſo extremely afflicted, being willing to pleaſe him, carries him out a-hunting. And aſſembling abundance of people, both foot and horſe, and likewiſe the boys, and driving the beaſts out into the champion country, he made a great hunt. And being himſelf preſent royally attended, he gave order that none ſhould throw till *Cyrus* was ſatisfied and had enough of the exerciſe. But *Cyrus* would not let him hinder them. "If you have a mind, grandfather, "ſaid he, that I ſhould hunt with pleaſure, let all "thoſe about me purſue and engage in the fray, and "do the beſt." *Aſtyages* then gave them his leave, and taking a ſtation, ſaw them engaged amongſt the beaſts, ſtriving to out-do each other, purſuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with *Cyrus*, who, in tranſports of joy, could not hold his tongue; but like a young generous dog, that opens when he approaches the beaſt, he purſues, encouraged every one, calling upon them by name. He was pleaſed to ſee him laughing at one; and another he obſerved him to praiſe cordially and without the leaſt motion of envy. At laſt *Aſtyages*, having taken abundance of game, retired; but was ſo pleaſed with that hunt, that he always went out with *Cyrus*, whenever he was able, taking abundance of people with him, and boys for the ſake of *Cyrus*. Thus

for

for the moſt part did *Cyrus* paſs his time, doing ſervice and pleaſure to all, and hurt to none.

BUT when he was about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, the king of *Aſſyria*'s ſon, being to celebrate his nuptials, had a mind at that time to hunt; and hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, they having not been hunted becauſe of the war between the nations; hither he deſired to go. That he might hunt therefore ſecurely, he took with him a body of horſe, and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beaſts out of their faſtneſſes into the open cultivated country. Being come, therefore, to the place where their garriſons were, and a guard always attending; here he ſupped, as intending to hunt the next day early in the morning. But that evening a guard of horſe and foot arrived from the city to relieve thoſe who were there before. He therefore thought that he had now a handſome army with him, conſiſting of a double guard, beſides a conſiderable number both of horſe and foot that had attended upon himſelf. He judged it beſt, therefore, to undertake a plunder upon the *Median* territory; that this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he ſhould procure a great ſtore of beaſts for ſacrifice. So riſing early in the morning, he led his army forwards. The foot he left in cloſe order upon the borders: he himſelf advanced, with the horſe, up to the *Median* garriſons; and keeping the beſt of them, and the greateſt number with himſelf, he halted there, that the *Medes* in garri-

ſon

ſon might not march and charge thoſe who were to ſcour the country. And ſuch as were proper he ſent out in parties, ſome to run one way and ſome another; and ordered them to ſurround and ſeize all that they met with, and bring all off to him. Theſe did as they were ordered. But notice being given to *Aſtyages*, that the enemy was got into the country, he marched with what forces he had at hand, to the borders. His ſon did ſo in like manner, with ſome horſe that were at hand; and he ſignified to all his other forces to march after, to ſupport him. When they came up, and ſaw a great number of *Aſſyrians* in cloſe order, and their horſes ſtanding quietly and ſtill, the *Medes* likewiſe halted and ſtood.

CYRUS, ſeeing other people marching on all ſides to ſupport their friends, ſet forward himſelf, putting on his arms for the firſt time, never imagining that he ſhould be ſo ſoon armed with them in the manner he deſired; for they were very fine, and fitted him very well; being ſuch as his grandfather had ordered to be made fit to his body. So being thus completely armed, he ſet out on horſeback. *Aſtyages* getting ſight of him, wondered by whoſe order and encouragement he came; however, he bid him keep by him. *Cyrus*, when he ſaw a great number of horſemen fronting him, aſked, "Grandfather! ſaid he, "are theſe men enemies that ſit quietly there on horſe-"back?" "They are enemies," ſaid he. "And "are thoſe ſo too that are ſcouring the country?" "Yes, and thoſe too." "By *Jove!* then, grandfather!

"ſaid

" ſaid he, methinks theſe that are thus plundering us
" are wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretch-
" ed horſes; and muſt not ſome of us march againſt
" them?" " Do not you ſee, child! ſaid he, what
" a body of horſe ſtands there in cloſe order, and
" who, if we advance againſt the others, will inter-
" cept us? and we have not yet our full ſtrength
" with us." " But ſaid *Cyrus*, if you wait here, and
" collect thoſe that are marching to join us, theſe
" of our enemies that are here will be under appre-
" henſion, and will not ſtir; and the plunderers, when
" they ſee any men marching againſt them, will pre-
" ſently drop their booty." Upon his ſaying this, *Aſtyages* thought there was ſomething in what he ſaid, and wondering at his ſagacity and vigilance, ordered his ſon to take a ſquadron of horſe, and march againſt the plunderers; " I, ſaid he, will bear down upon
" theſe men that are here, if they offer to move to-
" wards you; ſo that they ſhall be obliged to be in-
" tent upon us."

CYAXARES taking of the ſtrongeſt and beſt, both of men and horſes, marched. And *Cyrus*, ſeeing theſe put forward, joined and puſhed on with them, and preſently got at the head of them. *Cyaxares* followed, and the reſt were not left behind. As ſoon as the plunderers ſaw them approaching, then quitting their booty they fled. They that were with *Cyrus* intercepted them, and fell to blows with ſuch as they could come up with, and *Cyrus* was the firſt at the work. Thoſe who, by turning aſide, eſcaped them,

they

they purfued in the rear, and did not give over, but met with ſeveral of them. Like a generous dog that has not experience, and runs headlong without caution, upon a boar, ſo ran *Cyrus*; minding only to deal his blows where any came within his reach, without further foreſight or conſideration. The enemy, when they ſaw their people in diſtreſs, moved their main body; judging that the purſuit would ceaſe as ſoon as they ſhould be ſeen to advance. *Cyrus* notwithſtanding did not give over, but calling out to his uncle for joy, purſued, and preſſing continually on, put the enemy to an entire rout. *Cyaxares* followed, perhaps being in awe of his father; and the reſt followed after, who, though perhaps they would not have ſhewn themſelves very brave againſt men that had oppoſed them, yet were, upon this occaſion, more than ordinarily eager in purſuing. *Aſtyages*, when he ſaw theſe men ſo incautiouſly purſuing, and the enemy in a cloſe body marching towards them, fearing for his ſon and for *Cyrus*, leſt they in diſorder and confuſion ſhould fall in with the enemy, prepared to receive them, and ſuffer damage, he preſently led on towards the enemy. The enemy, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Medes* move forward, halted; preſented ſome of their javelins, and ſome their bows, in order to ſtop them when they came within bow-ſhot, as their general practice is. For when they are near they puſh each other at a certain diſtance, and ſo frequently ſkirmiſh on till evening. But when they ſaw their own men in full rout flying towards them,

and

and thoſe with *Cyrus* following cloſe behind them, and *Aſtyages* with his horſe already within bow-ſhot, they gave way and fled. The *Medes* in a body purſuing killed ſeveral in the firſt charge; and whoever they came up with they fell upon, whether man or horſe; and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they ſtop till they came up with the *Aſſyrian* foot, and there they gave over, fearing leſt ſome greater force than appeared might lie in ambuſcade to receive them. *Aſtyages* upon this retreated, in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to ſay to *Cyrus*; for he knew him to be the author of the action, and ſaw him wrought up to ſuch a degree of boldneſs, as amounted almoſt to madneſs. For while the reſt were retiring home, he alone by himſelf did nothing but ride round and view thoſe that had fallen in the action. And they who had it in charge dragging him with difficulty away, brought him to *Aſtyages*, while he put his conductors forward before him, becauſe he ſaw the countenance of his grandfather turn ſour upon ſeeing him.

THESE things paſſed amongſt the *Medes*; and all people had *Cyrus* in their mouths, both in their diſcourſes and ſongs. But *Aſtyages*, who before had a great eſteem for him, was now quite aſtoniſhed and ſtruck with him. *Cambyſes*, the father of *Cyrus*, was pleaſed to hear theſe things of him; but when he heard that *Cyrus* began to perform acts of manhood, he called him home, that he might compleat his inſtitution among the *Perſians*, according to the rules of his country. And upon this occaſion, *Cy-*

rus is reported to have ſaid, "That he would return, "leſt his father ſhould be uneaſy and his country "blame him." *Aſtyages* therefore ſeemed to be under a neceſſity of parting with him. So he ſent him away, but firſt preſented him with ſuch horſes as he deſired to have, and furniſhing him with other things of all kinds, both becauſe of the affection he had for him, and becauſe he had great aſſurance and hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do ſervice to his friends and miſchief to his enemies.

All people waited upon *Cyrus* at his departure, attending him part of his way on horſeback, both boys, youth, and men, and thoſe in years; ſo likewiſe did *Aſtyages* himſelf. And they ſay that not one turned back at parting with him without tears; and it is ſaid that *Cyrus* himſelf ſhed many tears at parting: that he gave many preſents to his companions and equals in age, out of what *Aſtyages* had given him, and that at laſt, taking off the *Median* robe he had on, he gave it to a certain youth, declaring by this that he loved that youth the moſt of any. It is ſaid that they who had taken and accepted of theſe preſents, returned them to *Aſtyages*, and that *Aſtyages* ſent them to *Cyrus*, but that he ſent them back again to the *Medes*, and ſent word thus, "O grandfather! if you would have me re-"turn hither again with pleaſure and not with ſhame, "let every one keep, what I have given him." And that *Aſtyages* hearing this, did as *Cyrus* had begged him by his meſſage to do.

BUT if I may be allowed to relate a ſportive affair, it is ſaid that when *Cyrus* went away, and that he and his relations parted, they took their leave and diſmiſſed him with a kiſs, according to the *Perſian* cuſtom; for the *Perſians* practiſe it to this day. And that a certain *Mede*, a very excellent perſon, who had been long ſtruck with the beauty of *Cyrus*, that when he ſaw *Cyrus*'s relations kiſs him, he ſtayed behind, and when the reſt were gone, accoſted *Cyrus*, and ſaid to him, "And am I, *Cyrus!* the only one "of all your relations that you do not know?" "What! ſaid *Cyrus*, and are you a relation?" "Yes," ſaid he, "This was the reaſon, then, ſaid *Cyrus*, that "you uſed to gaze at me; for I think I recollect "that you frequently did ſo." "I was very deſirous, "ſaid he, to ſalute you, but I was alway aſhamed "to do it." "But, ſaid *Cyrus*, you that are a rela-"tion ought not to have been ſo." So coming up to him he kiſſed him. The *Mede* having received the kiſs, is ſaid to have aſked this queſtion; "And "is it a cuſtom amongſt the *Perſians* to kiſs rela-"tions?" "It is ſo, ſaid *Cyrus*, when they ſee one "another at ſome diſtance of time, or when they "part." "Then, ſaid the *Mede*, it ſeems now to "be time for you to kiſs me again; for, as you ſee, "I am juſt going away." So *Cyrus* kiſſing him again, diſmiſſed him, and went his way. They had not gone very far before the *Mede* came up with him again, with his horſe all over in a ſweat; and *Cyrus* getting ſight of him, ſaid, "What, have you for-

" got any thing that you had a mind to ſay to me?" " No, by *Jove!* ſaid he, but I am come again at " a diſtance of time." " Dear relation! ſaid he, it is " a very ſhort one." " How, a ſhort one! ſaid the " *Mede*, do you not know, *Cyrus!* ſaid he, that the " very twinkling of my eyes is a long time to be " without ſeeing you; you who are ſo lovely?" Here *Cyrus*, from being in tears broke out into laughter, bid him " go his way and take courage; that in a " little time he would be with them again; and that " then he would be at liberty to look at him if he " pleaſed with ſteady eyes and without twinkling."

CYRUS returning thus into *Perſia*, is ſaid to have continued a year longer amongſt the boys. At firſt they made their jeſts upon him, as being now come home inſtructed amongſt the *Medes* in luxury and and pleaſure. But when they ſaw that he cloathed himſelf as they did, that he drank as they did, and with pleaſure; and that in feſtivals, when they had a little more than ordinary plenty, they perceived him more ready to give his ſhare away than deſirous to have it himſelf: and beſides, when they ſaw him in all other reſpects much ſuperior to themſelves, they were then aſtoniſhed at him. Then having paſſed through the diſcipline o theſe years, and entering the order of youth, he here again appeared ſuperior to the reſt, both in executing what was fit, in undergoing every thing that was his part ſo to do, in his reſpects to his elders, and in his obedience to his rulers.

IN progreſs of time, *Aſtyages* died, and his ſon *Cyaxares*, brother to *Cyrus*'s mother, took upon him the government of the *Medes*. And the king of *Aſſyria* having overthrown all the *Syrians*, who were no ſmall nation, and having ſubjected the king of the *Arabs*, and holding the *Hyrcanians* under his dominion, and being at that time attacking the *Bactrians*, conſidered, that if he could break the power of the *Medes*, he ſhould eaſily obtain the dominion of all around him. For the *Medes* ſeemed to be the ſtrongeſt of all the neighbouring nations. So he ſent round to all thoſe that were ſubject to himſelf; he ſent to *Cræſus*, king of *Lydia*, to the king of *Cappadocia*, to both the *Phrygia's*, to the *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*, loading the *Medes* and *Perſians* with calumny and reproach; telling them, how great, how powerful, and how united in intereſt theſe two nations were by means of ſeveral intermarriages; that they would unite into one; and if he did not prevent them, and break their power, they would run riſk, by attacking each nation ſeverally, to overturn all. Some being perſuaded by theſe arguments, entered into a confederacy with him; others were prevailed with by money and preſents; for in theſe he abounded.

CYAXARES, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, when he perceived this deſign and theſe united preparations againſt him, did himſelf immediately make the utmoſt preparation that he was able, to oppoſe them; and he ſent to the *Perſians*, both to the publick coun-

cil and to *Cambyſes*, who was married to his ſiſter, and was king of *Perſia*. He ſent likewiſe to *Cyrus*, deſiring him to endeavour to come commander of the forces, if the publick council of the *Perſians* ſhould ſend any. For *Cyrus* by this time had compleated ten years amongſt the youth, and was now of the full-grown men.

So *Cyrus* accepting it, the elders in council choſe him commander of the expedition into *Media*. They gave him power to chooſe two hundred from amongſt thoſe who were equally entituled to all honours, and to each of theſe they gave power to chooſe four of their own order. Theſe all together made a thouſand. Again, to each of theſe thouſand they gave a power to chooſe from amongſt the common people of *Perſia*, ten ſhield-men, ten ſlingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thouſand archers, ten thouſand ſhield-men, and ten thouſand ſlingers, and the thouſand beſides; ſo great was the army that was given to *Cyrus*: And as ſoon as he was choſen, he began by making application to the gods; and having ſacrificed happily and ſucceſsfully, he then choſe the two hundred; and when theſe had afterwards choſen each their four, he aſſembled them together, and made his firſt diſcourſe to them thus:

"FRIENDS, I have choſen you, not as having now
" for the firſt time had proof of your worth, but as
" having ſeen you from boys, performing with ardor,
" all things that the city judges excellent and noble,
" and avoiding entirely whatever it reckons mean

" and

" and baſe. I would now lay before you upon what
" account it is that I, (not unwillingly) am placed
" in this ſtation; and that I have called you toge-
" ther. I have thought that our forefathers were
" no ways inferior to ourſelves; for they paſſed
" their days in continual exerciſe and practice of
" ſuch things as are thought actions of virtue; but
" what, with this their virtue, they have acquired
" either for the publick of *Perſia*, or for themſelves,
" I cannot yet diſcover. Yet, in my opinion, men
" practiſe no virtue, but that by it they may gain
" the advantage of the vicious. They who abſtain
" from pleaſures in preſent, do not do it that they
" may never have delight; but they do it, that by
" means of that temperance in preſent, they may
" in future time have returns of delight manifold.
" They who are deſirous to be powerful in ſpeaking,
" do not exerciſe themſelves in it, that they may
" never give over diſcourſing; but they do it in
" hopes, that, prevailing upon numbers of men by
" the power of their eloquence, they may effect many
" things, and thoſe of great conſequence.

" They who exerciſe themſelves in martial affairs
" do not take pains in it, that they may never ceaſe
" fighting, but they judge that by making them-
" ſelves able in military affairs, they ſhall acquire
" great riches, great happineſs, and great honours
" to themſelves and to their country. And if any
" have taken pains to acquire ability and ſkill in
" theſe affairs, and without reaping any fruits from

" them, have neglected themſelves till they have
" been diſabled by old age, in my opinion, they
" have undergone the ſame fate as one who were deſi-
" rous to be a good huſbandman would do; who
" ſowing and planting with ſkill, when the time
" came for gathering the fruits, ſhould let them
" all fall ungathered to the ground again. And as
" a wreſtler, who, after much pains beſtowed, and be-
" coming qualified for victory, ſhould paſs his days
" without entering the liſts. And, in my opinion,
" ſuch a one could not juſtly be freed from the im-
" putation of folly. Let not us, friends, ſubmit
" to ſuch a fate! But ſince we are conſcious to
" ourſelves, that from boys we are exerciſed in all
" great and noble things, let us march againſt theſe
" enemies of ours, that I, an eye-witneſs, well know
" to be poor inſignificant men as antagoniſts to you.
" For ſuch men are not very dangerous antagoniſts,
" who, though they may be ſkilful at their bow,
" and their javelin, and in horſemanſhip, yet when
" they are to undergo toil and labour, ſink under
" it: and theſe men, with reſpect to pains and la-
" bour, are mean and poor. Nor are ſuch men
" dangerous antagoniſts, who, when they are to
" watch, and deny themſelves their uſual reſt, are
" quite broken by it: and in this reſpect likewiſe,
" theſe men are mean and poor. Nor are ſuch dan-
" gerous antagoniſts, who, though able in all theſe
" reſpects, yet are ignorant how to deal either with
" allies or with enemies: and theſe men are evidently

" ignorant

" ignorant and unpractiſed in the nobleſt arts. But
" you can make uſe of the night, as others of the day;
" you reckon that toil and pains muſt conduct you
" to a life of pleaſure; you can uſe hunger to reliſh
" your food, as others do the daintieſt meats; you
" even with more eaſe than lions, can bear the drink-
" ing of plain water; and you carry within your minds
" the nobleſt and moſt warlike quality in the world;
" for praiſe is what you are pleaſed with above all
" things, and they that are lovers of praiſe do of
" courſe undergo all toil, and all danger with pleaſure.
" If I ſay theſe things of you, and know otherwiſe,
" I abuſe myſelf; for whatever falls ſhort of this in
" your conduct, the deficiency will fall upon me.
" But I truſt to my own experience, to your good
" will towards me, and to the folly of our enemies,
" that theſe good hopes will not fail me. Let us ſet
" forward with confidence, ſince we are far from ap-
" pearing to be taken with an unjuſt deſire of what
" belongs to others; for our enemies are coming upon
" us, being themſelves the aggreſſors in wrong; our
" friends call us to their aſſiſtance: What therefore
" is more juſt than to repel injuries? What more
" noble than to help our friends? Beſides, methinks
" it ought not to be one of the leaſt grounds of your
" confidence in this caſe, that I do not ſet out upon
" this expedition with neglect of the gods: For you
" who have converſed much with me, know that I
" have endeavoured to begin not great affairs only,
" but even little ones, with application to the gods.

" To

" To conclude, ſaid he, what further ſhall I ſay? Do
" you make choice of your men, and take them under
" your care; and making all things elſe ready, march
" to the *Medes*; I, firſt returning back to my father,
" will go before you, that I may learn, as ſoon as
" poſſible, the condition of the enemy, and prepare
" things for you as well as I can, that, with God's
" aſſiſtance, we may carry on this war in the nobleſt
" manner." Theſe men did as *Cyrus* required.

CYRUS returning home, and having made his ſupplications to *Veſta*, and to *Jove* paternal, and the other deities, ſet out upon this expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As ſoon as they were out of the houſe, it is ſaid, that it thundered and lightned in a happy manner. Upon which they went on without further augury; as if no one could be ignorant what theſe ſignals of the moſt powerful God imported. As *Cyrus* proceeded on upon his journey, his father began a diſcourſe with him in this manner:

" THAT the gods ſend you out upon this expedi-
" tion propitiouſly and favourably, is evident, child,
" both from the ſacrifices, and from the ſignals from
" heaven. And you yourſelf know it to be ſo; for
" I have purpoſely taught you theſe things, that you
" might not come to the knowlege of what the gods
" adviſe and direct you to, by means of other inter-
" preters; but that you yourſelf, ſeeing what is to be
" ſeen, and hearing what is to be heard, may under-
" ſtand, and not be at the mercy of diviners, who,
" if they pleaſe, may deceive you, and tell you dif-

" ferent

" ferent things from what the gods really ſignify to
" you: and that in caſe you are without a diviner,
" you may not be at a loſs what uſe to make of the
" divine ſignals, but by your knowlege in divination,
" underſtanding the advices given you by the gods,
" you may comply with them." " Father, ſaid *Cyrus*,
" I will always continue uſing my utmoſt care, ac-
" cording to your inſtruction, to render the gods pro-
" pitious to us, and willing to give us their advice
" and direction. For I remember to have heard it
" from you, that, as from men, ſo likewiſe from the
" gods, the moſt likely perſon to obtain his ſuit, is
" not he who, when he is in diſtreſs, flatters ſervilely,
" but he who in his moſt happy circumſtances is moſt
" mindful of the gods. And you uſed to ſay, that
" it was in the ſame manner that one ought to culti-
" vate friends." " Therefore, child, ſaid he, upon
" the account of this your care, you now apply to
" the gods, and make your requeſts to them with the
" more pleaſure, and you have the better hopes to
" obtain what you aſk, appearing to yourſelf conſcious
" that you have never neglected them." " Truly
" father, ſaid he, I am for that reaſon in ſuch a tem-
" per of mind with reſpect to the gods, as to reckon
" them my friends."—" Well child, ſaid he, do
" you remember theſe other opinions that we hereto-
" fore agreed in? As that in all things that the gods
" beſtow, ſuch men, as have acquired ſkill and know-
" lege in them, act and ſucceed better than they who
" are ignorant in them? That the laborious ſucceed

" better

"better than the idle? That the diligent and the "careful live with more ſecurity, than the negligent "and careleſs? And that therefore firſt rendering "ourſelves ſuch as we ought to be, we then ſhould "make our prayers to the gods for their bleſſings?"

"Yes indeed, ſaid *Cyrus*, I do remember to have heard "theſe things from you; and I was forced to ſub-"mit to your reaſoning; for I know you uſed to ſay, "that it was downright impiety, for ſuch as had "never learned to ride, to ſupplicate the gods for "victory in engagements of horſe; or for ſuch as "had never learned the uſe of the bow, to aſk the "ſuperiority at this very weapon, over thoſe who "underſtood it; or for ſuch as knew not how to "ſteer, to pray that they might preſerve ſhips in "quality of pilots; or for ſuch as have not ſown "wheat, to pray that they might have a good crop "of it; or for ſuch as are not watchful in war, to "pray that they may be preſerved in ſafety; for "that all ſuch things were contrary to the ſettled "laws of the gods; and you ſaid, that ſuch as "made impious prayers, would probably meet with "diſappointments from the gods; as ſuch would "fail of ſucceſs with men, who ſhould deſire things "contrary to all human laws.

"And have you forgot, child, ſaid he, theſe "other matters that you and I have heretofore diſ-"courſed upon? As that it was a great and noble "work for a man to be able to approve himſelf a "good and excellent man, and to find means to ſup-

"ply

" ply himſelf and his family with plenty of all things
" neceſſary. And this being thus allowed to be a
" great work, that to underſtand how to govern other
" men, ſo as to ſupply them with all things neceſſary
" and in abundance, and ſo as to render them ſuch
" as they ought to be, this we thought to be an aſto-
" niſhing work! Yes truly, father, ſaid he, I remem-
" ber to have heard you ſay this, and I was of opinion
" with you, that to govern well was a work of the
" higheſt nature. And it now appears to me to be
" ſo, ſaid he, when I conſider it with reſpect to go-
" vernment itſelf; but when I conſider it with reſpect
" to other men, what kind of men theſe governors
" are, and what kind of men they are who are to be
" our antagoniſts; I think it very mean to be terrified
" with ſuch people, and to be unwilling to march
" and engage them. Men, ſaid he, who, to begin
" with theſe friends of ours, I find are of opinion,
" that a governor ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf from
" thoſe that he governs, by his eating more ſumptu-
" ouſly, by having more gold in his houſe, by ſleep-
" ing longer, and by living in all reſpects more at eaſe
" than thoſe that he governs. But my opinion is, ſaid
" he, that a governor ought to differ from the govern-
" ed, not by a life of eaſe and luxury, but by care
" and circumſpection, and by his readineſs to undergo
" toil and labour."— " But child, ſaid he, there
" are ſome matters wherein you are not to contend
" with men, but with things; and to have theſe
" plentifully at command is no eaſy matter. You

" readily

" readily know that if the army have not neceſſaries,
" your command is immediately diſſolved and falls
" to pieces." " Father, ſaid he, therefore *Cyaxares*
" ſays, that he will afford them to all that go from
" hence, however great the number be." You go
" then child, ſaid he, truſting in theſe matters en-
" tirely to *Cyaxares*'s riches." " I do, ſaid *Cyrus*."
" Well, ſaid he, but do you know what theſe riches
" are?" " No truly, ſaid *Cyrus*, I do not." Yet,
" ſaid he, to theſe things that you are thus in the
" dark about, do you truſt. Do not you know,
" that you will be in want of abundance of things,
" and that now you muſt of neceſſity ſpend abun-
" dance?" " I do know it, ſaid *Cyrus*." If there-
" fore, ſaid he, the ſupply of this expence fail him,
" or that he purpoſely deal falſly by you, how will the
" affairs of the army then ſtand? It is plain, not
" very well." " Then father, ſaid he, if you know
" any means of obtaining a ſupply, and ſuch as
" may depend upon myſelf, whilſt I am yet upon
" friendly ground, pray tell it me." " Do you aſk,
" child, ſaid he, if there be any means of ſupply
" depending upon yourſelf? And upon whom are
" theſe things more likely to depend, than upon
" one who has power in his hands? You go from
" hence with ſuch a body of foot, as I very well
" know you would not exchange for any other,
" though many times their number; and you will
" have the *Median* cavalry, who are the beſt, and
" who will be with you as your allies and friends.

" What

" What nation is there then all around, that you
" think will not ſerve you, both out of a deſire to gain
" your favour, and for fear of receiving harm? Theſe
" matters you ought to concert with *Cyaxares*, that
" nothing of what is neceſſary for you may be want-
" ing, and upon account of the continual expence,
" you ought to ſecure a revenue and ſupply that may
" be always accruing. But above all things remem-
" ber this, never to delay the procuring your ſupply
" till want preſſes you to it; but while you have the
" greateſt plenty, and before you come to want, then
" labour the moſt to make ſure of it. For you will
" ſucceed the better with thoſe from whom you de-
" mand it, when you ſeem not to be in want; and
" your men will have nothing to blame you for. By
" this means likewiſe you will have more reſpect paid
" you by others; and if by means of your forces, you
" have a mind to do ſervice or prejudice to any, while
" your men are ſupplied with all that they want, they
" will do you better ſervice. And be aſſured that
" your words will carry greater weight with them,
" when you can ſhew, that you have it in your power
" to do ſervice or to do hurt." " I am ſatisfied, father,
" ſaid he, that you are right in all this, both for other
" reaſons, as well as particularly becauſe there are none
" of the ſoldiers that will pay me thanks for what they
" are now to receive: for they know upon what terms
" *Cyaxares* takes them as his allies; but whatever any of
" them ſhall receive over and above what is agreed,
" this they will reckon favour, and will pay the great-

" eſt

" eſt gratitude to the beſtower of it. And indeed,
" for one who has a force, by whoſe means he may
" receive advantages in return of ſervice done to
" friends, and may endeavour to make conqueſt
" upon enemies; for ſuch a one to be careleſs in
" ſecuring himſelf ſupplies, can one think this, ſaid
" he, to be leſs reproachful, than it would be in a
" man who had lands, and had ſervants to cul-
" tivate them, and who after all ſhould let thoſe
" lands lie fallow and uſeleſs. Depend upon it
" therefore, ſaid he, that both in the territory of
" friends and of enemies, I will not be ſparing of
" my care to ſupply my men with all things fit-
" ting."

" Well, child, ſaid he, and do you remember
" certain other things that we heretofore agreed it
" was neceſſary not to neglect?" — " Yes, ſaid
" he, for I remember that, when I came to you
" for money to give a man, who pretended to have
" taught me the art of commanding an army, as
" you gave me the money you aſked me, — Child,
" ſaid you, did this man that you carry this reward
" to, ever amongſt the arts and buſineſs of a gene-
" ral mention any thing of œconomy to you? For
" ſoldiers in an army are not leſs in want of things
" neceſſary than are domeſticks in a family: and
" when, telling you the truth, I ſaid that he had not
" made the leaſt mention of it, you aſked me a-
" gain: — Whether he had ſpoken to me concern-
" ing the health and ſtrength of my men? As that

" a gene-

" a general ought to mind these things, as well as " the leading and managing of them in action; " when I told you, no; you again asked me, — " Whether he had taught me how to take care to " make my men the most able at all war-like exer- " cises? and when I denied this too; you enquired " again, — Whether he had given me any instruc- " tion, how I might raise spirit and courage in an " army; for, you said, that, in every action there " were vast odds between an army's being in spirit " and out of heart. When I denied this too, you " enquired again, — Whether he had held any " discourse to teach me, how one might best bring " an army to ready obedience? When you found, " that this had not been in the least spoken of, you " at last enquired, — " What it was he had taught " me then, that he could say he had taught me the " art of commanding an army? Here I replied and " told you the tacticks, or the art of forming and " moving in order. — You laughing at this, ran " over each particular, asking me what use there " was in generalship of tacticks without necessaries? " what without health? what without skill in the " arts that have been invented for the use of war? " what without obedience? — So you made it " evident to me, that this tactick art was but a " small part of generalship. And when I asked whe- " ther you were able to teach me any of these matters? " you bid me go my ways, and discourse with men that " were reputed knowing in military affairs, and enquire

" from them how these matters stood.—Upon this, I
" conversed with such as I had heard were most know-
" ing in these matters: And with respect to health,
" having heard and observed that cities, that want
" health, get physicians; and that commanders, for the
" sake of their men, take physicians with them; so
" when I was placed in this station I presently took
" care of this: And I believe, father! said he, that
" I have men with me that are very able in the art of
" physic." To this the father replied; " But, child!
" said he, these men that you speak of are like
" menders of torn cloths; so when people are sick,
" physicians cure them: But your care of health is
" to be of a nobler kind; to prevent the army's be-
" coming sickly, is what you ought to take care of."
" And which way, father, said he, shall I be able
" to do this?" " Why if you are to stay some
" time in a place, you ought not to be careless in
" your choice of a healthy camp: And in this you
" will not be deceived, provided you are but care-
" ful; for men are continually talking of healthy
" and unhealthy places, and upon the places them-
" selves, there are sure witnesses to give their testi-
" mony either way, both by their persons and com-
" plexions. But then it will not suffice you to con-
" sider places only, but pray recollect what course
" you have taken yourself, in your endeavours to
" preserve your health." *Cyrus* then said, " In the
" first place, I endeavour not to over-fill myself;
" for it is a very burthensome thing; and then what

" I take

"I take down I work off by exerciſe. By this
"means I think that I preſerve health and acquire
"vigour." "In the ſame manner therefore, child,
"ſaid he, you muſt take care of others." "And
"ſhall we have leiſure, ſaid he, father! to exerciſe
"the ſoldiers in this manner?" "You will not only
"have leiſure, ſaid the father, but neceſſity will
"oblige you to it; for an army that will do its duty,
"muſt never be at reſt, but employed either in
"diſtreſſing the enemy, or making advantages to
"themſelves. It is a difficult matter for a ſingle
"man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult
"for a family; but moſt difficult of all to maintain
"an army idle. For in an army, from the loweſt
"to the higheſt, there are many mouths, and what
"they get they ſpend very laviſhly; ſo that it is ne-
"ver fit for an army to be idle." "You ſeem to
"me, father! ſaid he, to ſay, that as an idle huſ-
"bandman is good for nothing, ſo is an idle gene-
"ral good for nothing. But unleſs ſome god blaſt
"my endeavours, I take it upon me to ſhew you a
"diligent and active general, and ſoldiers well ſup-
"plied with all things neceſſary, and to take care
"that their bodies ſhall be in the beſt condition.—
"But with reſpect to the ſeveral military arts, fa-
"ther! ſaid he, in my opinion, he that ſhould eſta-
"bliſh games in the ſeveral kinds, and propoſe cer-
"tain rewards to ſuch as ſhould excel in them,
"would make them be beſt practiſed, ſo as to have
"them ready for uſe upon occaſion." "Child, ſaid he,

" You ſay very well; for by doing this, you will ſee the
" ſeveral orders and diviſions of your men, like ſets
" of dancers, always performing their proper parts."

" But then, ſaid *Cyrus*, with reſpect to the raiſ-
" ing courage and ſpirit amongſt the ſoldiers; I
" think nothing more effectual, that to give the men
" great hopes of advantage." " But child! ſaid he,
" this expedient is juſt as if any one in hunting
" ſhould always encourage the dogs in the ſame man-
" ner that is uſed when the beaſt is in view; for one
" that ſhould do thus, would have them very eager
" and ready at his encouragement at firſt, but if he
" often deceived them, they would at laſt give no
" attention to his encouragement, when the beaſt
" was really in view. It is the ſame with reſpect to
" theſe hopes; if any one ſhould baulk men often,
" after having raiſed them to mighty expectations,
" he would not at laſt be able to prevail with them,
" though he talked to them of hopes never ſo real
" and well grounded. But, child! ſaid he, you muſt
" be very cautious in ſaying any thing that you do not
" very well know; the ſame thing ſometimes ſaid by
" others may do the buſineſs; your own encourage-
" ment you muſt, with the utmoſt care, preſerve in
" credit for the greateſt occaſions." " Indeed, father,
" ſaid *Cyrus*, in my opinion you ſay perfectly well,
" and this way is to me much the more agreeable."

" But in the matter of rendering the ſoldiers obe-
" dient, I take myſelf, father! not to be unſkilled.
" For preſently from a boy you took me under diſ-
" cipline,

" cipline, and obliged me to be obedient to you;
" then you gave me up to my teachers, and they did
" the ſame thing: Then again, when I became one
" of the youth, our ruler took effectual care, in this
" matter; and there are many laws that, in my opi-
" nion, tend chiefly to the teaching of theſe two
" things, how to govern, and how to obey: And
" upon conſidering them, I think I find that the
" moſt proper means to enforce obedience, is to
" praiſe and recompenſe the obedient, and to diſ-
" grace and puniſh the diſobedient." " Indeed
" child! ſaid he, to a forced obedience this is the
" way; but to a willing obedience, which is much
" the better, there is another way, and a readier.
" For whoever men take to be more knowing than
" themſelves in what is for their intereſt and advan-
" tage; ſuch a one they obey with pleaſure. This
" you may know to be true in many other caſes, as
" well as particulary in that of ſick people, who
" are mighty ready and zealous in ſending for ſuch
" as may preſcribe what is fit for them to do; ſo at
" ſea, the people that are on board, are very ready
" and zealous to obey their pilots; and travellers
" are extremely averſe to part with ſuch as they
" think know the roads better than themſelves: But
" when men think that they ſhall be injured by their
" obedience, they will neither yield to puniſhments
" nor be raiſed by rewards; for no one willingly
" takes a reward to his own prejudice." " You ſay,
" father! ſaid he, that nothing more effectually pro-

" cures one obedience than to appear to have more
" wiſdom and knowledge than thoſe that one rules."
" I do ſay ſo," ſays he. " And how, father! ſaid he,
" ſhall one be beſt able to raiſe ſuch an opinion of
" one's ſelf?"—" Child! ſaid he, there is no readier
" way to appear wiſe and knowing in things wherein
" you deſire to appear ſo, than to be in reality
" knowing in thoſe things; and conſidering the
" things in particular, you will find, that what I ſay
" is true. For if you would appear a good huſ-
" bandman, a good horſeman, a good phyſician, a
" good player upon the flute, or any other artiſt
" whatever, when you really are not ſo; conſider
" how many contrivances you muſt uſe in order to
" appear ſo. And if you can prevail with a great
" many people to commend you, that you may
" gain a reputation, and if you purchaſe fine inſtru-
" ments, and furniture belonging to each of the arts,
" you are then an impoſtor. And ſoon after, when
" you come to give proof of your ſkill, you would be
" convicted, and would appear an arrogant boaſter.
" But with reſpect to future time, and to what
" may or may not turn to advantage in the conſe-
" quence, what is the way to make one's ſelf in this
" really wiſe and knowing? It is plain, child! ſaid
" he, by learning every thing that one can acquire
" the knowledge of by learning, as you have learned
" the tactick art; but with reſpect to what is not
" to be learnt from men, nor attained to by human
" foreſight, conſulting the gods in ſuch caſes by di-
" vination,

" vination, you will make yourſelf more knowing
" than others: And what you find moſt proper to
" be done, you are to take care that it be done; for
" to ſee to the execution of what is proper, is more
" the part of a man of prudence than to neglect it."

" But then, ſaid *Cyrus*, as to the being beloved
" by thoſe that one rules, which is amongſt the
" things I take to be of the greateſt importance.
" It is evident, that the way is the ſame as it is to
" gain the love of friends: for I know very well
" that one ought to be ſeen doing them ſervice."
" But child! ſaid he, it is a matter of great diffi-
" culty to be always able to ſerve thoſe that one has
" a mind to ſerve; but to be obſerved to rejoice
" with them when any good fortune befalls them;
" and to grieve with them when any thing ill; to
" appear zealous to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſſes;
" afraid leſt they ſhould miſcarry in any thing; and
" to endeavour to prevent this by care and circum-
" ſpection; theſe are things that you ought rather
" to concur with them in. And in point of action,
" the commander ought to be obſerved to undergo
" more heat in ſummer, and in the winter more
" cold, and in great fatigues more labour and pains,
" than others; for all theſe things contribute to the
" being beloved by thoſe that are under one's go-
" vernment." " You ſay, father! ſaid he, that a com-
" mander ought, in all reſpects, to undergo more
" than thoſe that he commands." " I do ſay it,
" ſaid he: And be of good courage, child! for be

" assured, that bodies being alike, the same labours
" do not fall equally heavy upon the commander,
" and the private man; for glory makes those la-
" bours lighter to the commander, and the being
" conscious to himself that in whatever he does,
" he does not lie concealed."

" But then, father! when the soldiers are sup-
" plied with all things necessary, when they are in
" health, and able to undergo labour, when they
" are skilful and well exercised in all the military
" arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave
" men, when obedience is more pleasing to them
" than the contrary; would not you think a man
" wise who should then desire, upon the first oppor-
" tunity, to bring them to an engagement with the
" enemy?" " Yes truly, said he, provided that
" he had the enemy at a proper advantage. But if
" otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and
" the better I thought of my men, the more upon
" my guard would I be; and as in other things that
" we think of greatest value to us, so in these, we
" should endeavour to have them secured in the
" strongest manner."

" And what is the best way, father! to take ad-
" vantage of the enemy?" "Truly, child! said he,
" this is no contemptible nor simple business that
" you enquire about. But be it known to you,
" that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a
" dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief, and a rob-
" ber, and must take advantage of his enemy in all

" man-

" manner of ways." *Cyrus* laughing at this, cried out, " O *Hercules!* what a man, father! do you " ſay that I muſt be?" " Such a one, child! ſaid " he, as may yet have the ſtricteſt regard to law " and juſtice." " Why then, ſaid he, while " we were boys, and while we were youths, did " you teach us the direct contrary." " And ſo " truly we do ſtill, ſaid he, with reſpect to friends " and fellow-citizens. But do you not know, that " in order to injure enemies, you have learnt a " great many miſchievous arts?" " Not I, father! " ſaid he." " To what end then, ſaid he, did you " learn the uſe of the bow? and to throw the jave- " lin? To what end did you learn to deceive wild " boars with toils and trenches, and ſtags with ſnares " and gins? What is the reaſon that in your encoun- " tering lions, bears, and leopards, you do not put " yourſelf upon an even footing with them, but en- " deavour to take all advantages in engaging them? " Do not you know that theſe are all miſchievous " artifices, deceits, ſubtilties, and takings of advan- " tage?" " Yes truly, ſaid *Cyrus*, againſt beaſts; " but if I was diſcovered intending to deceive a man, " I got a good many ſtripes for it." " Nor did we " I think, ſaid he, allow you to ſhoot with a bow, " or throw a javelin at a man? but we taught you " to throw at a mark, that you might not at that " time do miſchief to your friends; but that, in " caſe of war, you might be able to take your aim " at men. And we inſtructed you to practiſe de-

" ceits,

" ceits, and to take advantages not upon men, but " upon beaſts, that you might not hurt your friends " by theſe means, but that in caſe a war ſhould hap- " pen, you might not be unpractiſed in them."— " Therefore, ſaid he, father! if it be of uſe to know " both how to do men good, and how to do them " harm, it ought to have been taught us how to prac- " tiſe both upon men."—" Child! ſaid he, in the " time of our fore-fathers, there is ſaid to have been " a certain teacher of youth, who, juſt as you de- " ſire, taught the boys both to deal juſtly and un- " juſtly; to be true and to be falſe; to deceive " and not to deceive; to practiſe calumny and not " to practiſe it; to take advantage and not to take " advantage. And he diſtinguiſhed what was to " be practiſed towards friends and what toward ene- " mies; and proceeding yet farther, he taught, " that it was juſt even to deceive friends, if it were " done for their good; and juſt, to play the thief " and to ſteal from friends, what belonged to them, " if it were done for their good. And this teach- " er was obliged to exerciſe the boys one againſt " another in the practice of theſe things, as they ſay " the *Greeks* teach to deceive in wreſtling; and ex- " erciſe the boys in it one againſt another, that they " may know how to put it in practice. Some there- " fore, having ſo natural an aptneſs to deceive, and " take advantage, and perhaps no natural unaptneſs " to make profit and advantage to themſelves, did " not refrain from uſing their endeavours to take

" advan-

" advantages upon friends. Upon this, therefore, a " decree was made, which is yet in force among us; " to teach the boys ſimply and directly, as we teach " our ſervants in their behaviour towards us, to tell " truth, not to deceive, not to ſteal, not to take ad- " vantage; and if they tranſgreſs in theſe things, " to puniſh them, that being ſo accuſtomed to theſe " manners, they might become more mild and tract- " able citizens. But when they came to the age " you now are at, to teach them what is lawful with " reſpect to enemies, ſeemed what might be done ſe- " curely; for it did not ſeem probable that being bred " together with a reverence for each other, you " ſhould afterwards break out ſo as to become wild " and ſavage citizens: juſt as we avoid diſcourſing " concerning the affairs of the beautiful goddeſs be- " fore very young people, leſt, a freedom from re- " ſtraint being added to a vehement deſire, they " ſhould fall into great exceſs in their dealings that " way."—" To me, therefore, ſaid he, father! as " being a very late learner of theſe artifices, do not " refuſe to teach them, if you know any; that I " may take advantage of the enemy." " Do all " then, ſaid he, that is in your power, with your own " men in the beſt order, to take the enemy in diſ- " order; the enemy unarmed, with your own men " armed; the enemy ſleeping, with your own men " waking; the enemy open and expoſed to you, " yourſelf being concealed and in the dark to them; " to fall upon them while engaged in difficult places,

" your-

" yourſelf being maſter of a place of ſtrength."
" And how, ſaid he, can one poſſibly catch the enemy
" making ſuch miſtakes as theſe?" " Becauſe child!
" ſaid he, both the enemy, and yourſelves are obliged
" by neceſſity to undergo many things of this kind.
" For you muſt both get proviſions; you muſt both
" neceſſarily have reſt; and in the morning you muſt
" all almoſt together retire for neceſſary occaſions;
" and in your marches, you muſt make uſe of ſuch
" roads as you find, whatever they are; conſidering all
" theſe things, in whatever part you know yourſelf to
" be the weakeſt, in that you muſt be the moſt watch-
" ful; and in whatever part you obſerve the enemy to
" be moſt expoſed, in that you muſt attack him."

" Is it in theſe things only, ſaid *Cyrus*, that advan-
" tages are to be taken, or may it be done in others?"
" It may be done in others, child! ſaid he, and more
" effectually; for in theſe caſes men for the moſt
" part place ſtrong guards, knowing full well that
" they are neceſſary: They that would deceive the
" enemy, may poſſibly, by raiſing in them a confi-
" dence and ſecurity, ſurprize them unguarded; or by
" letting themſelves be purſued, may bring the ene-
" my into diſorder, and inticing them on, by their
" flight, into a diſadvantageous poſt, may there attack
" them: But you, child! who are fond of ſkill in all
" theſe affairs, muſt not make uſe of ſuch things only
" as you have been informed of; you muſt be your-
" ſelf the contriver of ſome ſtratagems to put in
" practice againſt the enemy. For as muſicians do that

" only

" only deal in ſuch ſongs as they have been taught,
" but endeavour to compoſe others: And as in
" muſic, ſuch pieces as are new, and, as one may ſay,
" in flower, meet with ſucceſs and approbation; ſo in
" affairs of war, new contrivances are beſt approved;
" for they are moſt capable of deceiving the ene-
" my.—But, child! ſaid he, if you do no more than
" transfer to men thoſe contrivances that you have
" uſed, to enſnare little animals, do not you think,
" ſaid he, you will go a great way in the art of taking
" advantage of your enemy? For in order to catch
" birds, you uſed to riſe and go out in the night, in
" the hardeſt winter; and before the birds were ſtir-
" ring, you had your nets ready laid for them. And
" a moveable foundation was diſguiſed, and made
" like an immovable one; you had birds ready taught
" to ſerve your ends, and to deceive thoſe of their
" own kind; you yourſelf lay hid, but ſo as to ſee
" them, and not to be ſeen by them; and you watched
" your opportunity to draw your nets, and to prevent
" the birds eſcaping. Then with reſpect to the hare;
" becauſe ſhe feeds in the duſk, and makes away to
" her form by day, you keep dogs; ſome of them
" to find her by the ſcent; and becauſe ſhe takes to
" her heels, as ſoon as ſhe is diſcovered, you have
" other dogs, that are proper to take her at her
" courſe; and if ſhe eſcape theſe, then, having be-
" fore diſcovered the meſhes, and to what parts the
" hares chooſe to run, in theſe places you lay nets that
" are hardly to be ſeen; that in the eagerneſs of her

" courſe throwing herſelf into the net, ſhe may be
" hampered: And that ſhe may not eſcape this ſnare,
" you ſet people to watch what paſſes; and theſe from
" ſome places near, are preſently upon her; you your-
" ſelf follow her; you aſtoniſh and amaze her with
" clamour and noiſe that never quits her, ſo that in
" this diſtraction ſhe is taken. And you make thoſe
" that are ſet to watch lie concealed, with inſtructions
" before-hand to be perfectly ſtill and ſilent. As I
" ſaid before, therefore, if you would form ſome ſuch
" contrivances againſt men, I do not know that you
" would leave one enemy alive. But if there is a
" neceſſity to fight upon even terms with reſpect to
" ſituation, openly, and both parties prepared and
" armed, in ſuch a caſe, child! thoſe advantages, that
" you have been long before provided with, are of
" great weight; I mean thoſe when the bodies of your
" men are duly exerciſed, their minds keen, and all
" the ſoldiers arts well practiſed. Beſides, it is very
" neceſſary that you ſhould know, that whoever they
" are that you deſire ſhould be obedient to you, they
" on their part will deſire you to be provident and
" careful of them: Therefore never be remiſs, but
" conſider at night what your men ſhall do when it is
" day; and conſider in the day how matters may be
" upon the beſt foot with reſpect to the paſſing of the
" night. But as to the forming your army for battle;
" the marching them either by day or by night,
" through narrow or open ways, through mountains
" or plains; how to encamp; how to place your

" guards

" guards and watches both by night and day; how
" to lead towards the enemy; how to retreat from
" them; how to march by a city belonging to the
" enemy; how to march up to a rampart, and to re-
" treat from it; how to pass woods or rivers; how
" to be upon the guard, either against horse or
" against men armed with javelin or bow: And if,
" when you are marching by way of either wing, the
" enemy should appear, how to form a front against
" them; and if you are marching by your front,
" and that the enemy appear in another part and not
" in front, how to lead against them; how to get the
" best intelligence of the enemy's affairs; and how
" best to conceal your own from them: In all these
" matters what can I say to you? You have often
" heard from me all that I knew of them, and be-
" sides, whoever you have thought knowing in any
" of these affairs, you have not neglected to take
" their information; nor are you unskilled in them.
" Therefore according to the several occurrences, you
" must always make use of these things as they ap-
" pear to be to your advantage.—And take my in-
" struction, child! said he, likewise, in these things,
" and which are of the greatest importance. Never
" engage either yourself or the army in any thing
" contrary to the sacrifices and auguries; reflecting
" how men have chosen to engage in certain actions
" at hazard, and without knowing at all, on which
" side of the choice they should meet with their ad-
" vantage. This you may be convinced of by things

" that

" that oft happen; there are many inſtances of men,
" and they ſuch as have been thought the wiſeſt,
" who have perſuaded ſome to begin a war againſt
" others, who have deſtroyed thoſe that have been
" perſuaded to be the aggreſſors: There are inſtances
" of many, who have raiſed both cities and private
" men, and have ſuffered the greateſt misfortunes
" at the hand of thoſe they had ſo raiſed: There
" are inſtances of many, who, when they might
" have uſed others as their friends in a mutual in-
" tercourſe of good offices, and who chooſing to
" hold them rather as ſlaves than as friends, have
" met with revenge and puniſhment at their hands.
" Many, who, not liking to live contentedly poſſeſ-
" ing a part, and affecting to be lords of all, have
" by this means loſt what was their own. And
" many, who have acquired the much wiſhed-for
" metal, gold, have been deſtroyed by it.—So hu-
" man wiſdom knows no more how to chooſe the
" beſt, than one who ſhould determine to act as
" chance and the lot ſhould decide. The *Gods!*
" child! who are eternal, know all things that have
" been, all things that are, and all that ſhall happen
" in conſequence of every thing. And when men
" conſult them they ſignify to thoſe, that they
" are propitious to, what they ought to do, and
" what not. And if they will not give advice to all,
" it is no ways wonderful; for they are not under any
" neceſſity to take care of thoſe, of whom they are
" not willing to take care."

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK II.

DISCOURSING in this manner they arrived at the borders of *Perſia*; when an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them. And when they had made their ſupplications to the gods, and heroes, guardians of *Perſia*, to diſmiſs them favourably and propitiouſly, they paſſed the borders. When they had paſſed them, they again made ſupplication to the gods, guardians of *Media*, to receive them propitiouſly and favourably; and having done this, and embraced each other as uſual, the father returned into *Perſia*, and *Cyrus* marched on into *Media* to *Cyaxares*.

WHEN *Cyrus* came to *Cyaxares* in *Media*, they firſt embraced each other, as uſual, and *Cyaxares* after-

wards aſked *Cyrus*, "What force he was to bring "him?" He replied, "Thirty thouſand of ſuch as "have been before with you, and ſerved for their "pay: But there are others coming, who have never "yet ſerved out of their own country, and are of "the order of thoſe that are free, and equally enti-"tled to all honours." "And how many of theſe?" ſaid *Cyaxares*. "The number of them, replied *Cy-*"*rus*, will not pleaſe you, when you hear it: But "conſider, ſaid he, that thoſe who are called the "alike-honoured, though but few, rule with eaſe the "reſt of the *Perſians*, who are very numerous. But "ſaid he, are you in any real want of theſe men, or "are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not "coming?" "Indeed they are, ſaid he, and in great "numbers." "How does this appear?" "Why, "a great many people who come from thence, ſome "by one means and ſome by another, all ſay the "ſame thing: Then engage with theſe men we muſt. "We muſt of neceſſity," ſaid he.—"Well then, ſaid *Cyrus*, "why do not you tell me whether you know "what theſe forces are that are coming upon us, and "what we have of our own; that being apprized of "both, we may afterwards conſult how to carry on "the war in the beſt manner?" "Attend, then," ſaid *Cyaxares*;—"*Cræſus* the *Lydian* is ſaid to bring "with him 10,000 horſe, targeteers and archers "upwards of 40,000. They ſay that *Arſamas*, who "governs the *Greater Phrygia*, brings 8000 horſe; "targeteers and lance-men not leſs then 40,000.

"That

" That *Aribæus*, king of the *Cappadocian*, brings 6000
" horſe; archers and targeteers not leſs than 30,000.
" The *Arabian Maragdus* 10,000 horſe, 100 cha-
" riots, and of ſlingers a very conſiderable body.
" As to the *Greeks* that are ſettled in *Aſia*, there is
" nothing ſaid of certain whether they attend the ex-
" pedition or not. They ſay that *Gabæus*, who rules
" thoſe that inhabit the country that extends from
" *Phrygia* on the *Helleſpont* to the plain of *Cayſter*,
" contributes 6000 horſe, and 10,000 targeteers.
" The *Carians*, *Cilicians*, and *Paphlagonians*, though
" invited, they ſay, do not attend the expedition. The
" *Aſſyrian*, who poſſeſſes *Babylon* and the reſt of *Aſ-*
" *ſyria*, will, as I judge, bring no leſs than 20,000
" horſe; chariots, as I know very well, not more
" than 200; but I believe a vaſt body of foot; for ſo
" he is accuſtomed to do when he falls in upon us."—
" The enemy then, ſaid *Cyrus*, you ſay, amount to
" 60,000 horſe, and to more than 200,000 tar-
" geteers and archers.—To proceed then, What do
" you ſay is the number of your own forces?"—
" The *Median* horſe are above 10,000; and of tar-
" geteers and archers there may be perhaps in our
" own territories about 60,000; and of the *Arme-*
" *nians*, our neighbours, we ſhall have 4000 horſe
" and 20,000 foot."—" You ſay then, ſaid *Cyrus*,
" that we ſhall have in horſe leſs than a third part of
" the enemy's force of that ſort, and ſcarce half the
" number of their foot." " What! ſaid *Cyaxares*,
" do you think thoſe *Perſians*, that you ſay you bring,

" are but an inconſiderable number." " We will
" take another time, ſaid *Cyrus*, to conſider whether
" we want men or no.—At preſent, pray tell me
" what is the method of fight that is in uſe with
" thoſe ſeveral people." " They almoſt all, ſaid *Cy-*
" *axares*, uſe the ſame. Some of their men, as well
" as of our own, uſe the bow, and others the jave-
" lin." " Then, ſaid *Cyrus*, ſince ſuch are their
" arms, they muſt neceſſarily engage at a diſtance."
" Neceſſarily," ſaid *Cyaxares*. " In this caſe, there-
" fore, ſaid *Cyrus*, the victory falls to the greater
" number: For the few wounded by thoſe weapons
" are much ſooner deſtroyed by the many, than the
" many by the few." " If it be ſo, *Cyrus*, ſaid he,
" what way can one find better than to ſend to the
" *Perſians*, and acquaint them that if the *Medes* ſuſtain
" any loſs the misfortune will reach to themſelves,
" and at the ſame time to require from them a great-
" er force?" " Be aſſured, ſaid *Cyrus*, that if all the
" *Perſians* ſhould come, we ſhould not exceed
" the enemy in numbers." " What have you in
" view then that is better?" " Why, ſaid *Cyrus*,
" If I were you, I would immediately make, for
" all the *Perſians* that are coming, ſuch arms as
" thoſe men, that are called the alike-honoured, come
" provided with; and theſe are, a corſelet about the
" breaſt, a ſhield for the left hand, and a ſword, or cut-
" laſs, for the right. If you provide theſe arms,
" you will make it the ſafeſt way for us to come
" to cloſe fight with the enemy; and better for the

" enemy

"enemy to fly than to ſtand their ground. For our "own ſtation, ſaid he, we appoint againſt thoſe that "ſtand their ground; and thoſe that fly we allot to "you and to your horſe, that they may not have "time to make their eſcape, or to turn again." Thus *Cyrus* ſpoke. — *Cyaxares* was of opinion that he ſaid very right, and he thought no longer of ſending for more men, but applied himſelf to the providing of the arms before-mentioned. And they were ſcarce got ready, before the *Perſian* gentlemen, or the alike-honoured, arrived, bringing the *Perſian* army with them.

UPON this, *Cyrus* is ſaid to have called the gentlemen together, and to have ſpoke to them thus: "Friends! I who ſaw, that your perſons were arm-"ed, and your minds prepared for cloſe fight with "your enemy, and knew that the *Perſians* who at-"tend you were armed in ſuch manner as to engage "only at a diſtance, was afraid that, being but few "in number, and deſtitute of others to ſupport you, "when you fell in with the great number of your "enemy, you might come by ſome misfortune. Now "therefore, ſaid he, that you are come, and bring "with you men whoſe bodies are not contemptible, "and who are to be ſupplied with arms like your "own; to raiſe their minds is now your part. For "it is the buſineſs of a commander not only to be "himſelf brave, but to take ſuch care of thoſe that "he rules, that they may be made as brave as poſſi-"ble." — Thus he ſaid.

THEY were all much pleaſed, imagining they ſhould now engage the enemy with more to aſſiſt and ſupport them. And one of them ſpoke to this effect: "Perhaps, ſaid he, I ſhall be thought to talk "ſtrangely if I adviſe *Cyrus*, inſtead of Us, to ſay "ſomething to theſe men, who are to be our ſup- "ports and fellow-combatants, when they receive "their arms. For I know, ſaid he, that the words "of thoſe who have the moſt power to do ſervice "or to do hurt, ſink deeper into the minds of the "hearers: And the preſents that ſuch men make, "though they happen to be leſs than what men may "receive from others like themſelves, yet the receiv- "ers value them more. So now, ſaid he, the *Per-* "*ſians* will be much more pleaſed if they receive an "exhortation from *Cyrus*, than if they receive it "from us. And when they are placed in the de- "gree of the alike-honoured, they will think them- "ſelves more ſtrongly confirmed in it, if done by the "ſon of our king, and by our commander in chief, "than if they are introduced to it by us. Nor ought "our endeavours to be wanting; but we ſhould uſe "all poſſible means to excite and raiſe the courage of "theſe men; for how much ſoever they become bra- "ver and better men, it will be ſo much the more "to our advantage."

So *Cyrus* ſetting down the arms in a place expoſed to view, and calling together all the *Perſian* ſoldiers, ſpoke to this effect: "Men of *Perſia!* You were "born and bred in the ſame country that we were; "you

" you have bodies that are no ways inferior to ours,
" and you ought to have ſouls too not inferior to
" ours. And yet, though ſuch you are in yourſelves,
" in our own country you were not upon an equal
" foot with us. Not that you were excluded from it
" by us, but by the neceſſity you were under of pro-
" viding yourſelves with neceſſaries. Now, with the
" help of the gods! it ſhall be my care that you ſhall
" be ſupplied with theſe. And even though you may
" be in any ſort inferior to us, yet, by accepting theſe
" arms, that are ſuch as we have our ſelves, it is in your
" power, if you will, to run the ſame hazard with
" us; and if any thing great and advantageous hap-
" pen to us upon it, to be thought worthy of like
" advantages with ourſelves. Heretofore you have
" uſed the bow and the javelin; we have done the ſame.
" And if you are inferior to us in the practice of
" theſe, it is not at all wonderful; for you have not had
" the leiſure that we have had, to exerciſe yourſelves
" in them. But in this ſort of arms, we have no ad-
" vantage above you; for every one will have a
" corſelet, fitted to his breaſt, for the left-hand a
" ſhield, which you are all accuſtomed to wear; and
" for the right, a ſword, or cutlaſs, which you are
" to uſe againſt the enemy; not needing to be mind-
" ful of any thing but how not to miſs your blow.
" Under theſe arms, therefore, what difference can
" there be between one and another amongſt us, un-
" leſs it be in boldneſs, in which you ought not to

" be inferior to us? How ſhould it be our part more
" than yours to be deſirous of victory, by which all
" things great and advantageous are acquired and
" preſerved? How can ſuperiority of arms be leſs
" neceſſary to you than to us, when it is by this,
" that all that the conquered poſſeſs becomes yielded
" to the victors?"— In concluſion he ſaid: "You
" have heard all theſe things; you all of you ſee
" your arms; he that thinks fit, let him take them,
" and lift himſelf under his officer, into the ſame or-
" der and degree with us. He that thinks it enough
" for him to be in the ſtation of a mercenary, let
" him continue under ſervile arms." Thus he ſaid.—
The *Perſians* who heard him, were of opinion, that if, when they were invited to an equal ſhare of all advantages, by ſharing in like labours, they ſhould not agree to it, they ſhould then juſtly paſs all their days in a mean and low condition: So they were all liſted, and all took the arms.

During the time that the enemy was ſaid to be approaching, but did not actually come, *Cyrus* endeavoured to exerciſe the bodies of his men, in order to give them ſtrength and vigour; to teach them how to form themſelves and to move in proper order; and to raiſe their minds to warlike affairs. And in the firſt place, being ſupplied with ſervants by *Cyaxares*, he ordered them to ſupply all the ſoldiers with every thing ready made that they wanted. And having provided for this, he left them nothing to do but to practiſe ſuch things as related to war, ſeeming to

have

have learned this maxim, That thoſe men were beſt at any thing, who, taking off their minds from application to many things, apply themſelves to one buſineſs ſingly. And of affairs that relate to war, cutting them off from the practice of the bow and javelin, he left them only this one thing to do; which was, to fight with ſword, ſhield, and corſelet. So that he preſently brought their minds to this ſtate, that they found they were either to engage their enemy hand to hand; or to confeſs, that they were very worthleſs ſupports and fellow-combatants. And this was a difficult thing to be owned, by ſuch as knew they were maintained for nothing elſe but to fight for thoſe that maintained them. Beſides, having conſidered that whatever the things are, wherein men are raiſed to an emulation one againſt another, thoſe are the things they are moſt willing to exerciſe themſelves in; he appointed them to contend and vie with each other in all thoſe kinds of things that he knew were fit to be exerciſed and practiſed by the ſoldiers.

THE things he ſo appointed were theſe. To the private man, to make himſelf a good ſoldier, obedient to his commanders; ready to undergo labour; to be enterprizing in dangers, but conſiſtently with good order; to be ſkilful in the military exerciſes; fond of having his arms beautiful and in good condition; and in all ſuch matters deſirous of praiſe. To the leader of five, to make himſelf ſuch as it became the private man to be; and to do his utmoſt to make his five likewiſe ſuch. To the leader of ten,

to

make his ten ſuch. To the captain to do the ſame for his company: The colonel for his regiment: And in the ſame manner, to the reſt of the commanding officers, to render themſelves unexceptionable and blameleſs; and to take care that thoſe who were under their command ſhould, in their ſeveral ſtations, make thoſe under them ready to do their duties.—The rewards he propoſed in this contention were theſe: To the colonels, who, by their care, appeared to have made themſelves the beſt rigiments, to be made commanders of a thouſand; To the captains, who appeared to have made themſelves the beſt companies, to be made colonels; To the leaders of ten, that approved themſelves the beſt, to be advanced to the degree of captains; And to the leaders of five, in like manner to be advanced to the degree of leaders of ten: And to the private men, that behaved beſt, to be advanced to the degree of leaders of five. In the firſt place, therefore, all theſe officers were well ſerved by thoſe they commanded, and then all the other honours, ſuitable to every one, attended them. He likewiſe gave greater hopes to thoſe who deſerved praiſe, in caſe any more than ordinary advantage ſhould upon occaſion fall in their way. He propoſed alſo certain rewards of victory, to whole regiments and companies. So likewiſe to whole tens and fives, if they appeared to be the moſt obedient to their commanders, and to perform the things before mentioned with the greateſt ardour and readineſs: And the rewards to theſe were ſuch as were

the

the moſt proper to be beſtowed in common upon a number of men. Theſe were the things that were propoſed to the army and exerciſed amongſt them.

TENTS he likewiſe provided for them, as many in number as were the colonels; and of a ſize ſuch as was ſufficient for each regiment; and a regiment conſiſted of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by regiments. And it ſeemed to him to be of uſe to his men, in the war that was coming on, that by thus inhabiting together, they ſaw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a diſadvantage, ſo as to allow any one to be remiſs, or one be worſe than another, in acting againſt the enemy. It ſeemed to him likewiſe, that this joint habitation was of uſe to them with reſpect to their knowing one another: For by being known, he thought that a ſenſe of ſhame and reproach took more place upon all: For they who are unknown ſeem to act with leſs caution and reſtraint, as men do who are in the dark. And this cohabitation ſeemed to him to be of great ſervice to his men with reſpect to exactneſs in their orders: For thus the colonels had their ſeveral regiments in order under them in their ſleep, juſt as when a regiment is in a body upon the march; So the captains their companies; The commanders of tens their tens; And the commanders of five their five: And this exactneſs in their orders ſeemed to him to be of great ſervice, both to prevent their being put into diſorder; and if diſordered, to ſettle themſelves more readily

readily into order again. Juſt as in the caſe of ſtones and pieces of wood that are to be fitted together; which, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, one may with eaſe fit together again, into whatever irregular form they may have been thrown. And their being thus maintained together, he thought was of ſervice to them, in order to make them leſs ready to deſert each other; Becauſe he obſerved, that beaſts that had their maintenance together, were in great pain if ſeparated by any one.

CYRUS alſo took care that they ſhould never go to their dinner or ſupper without a ſweat: For he either led them out to hunt, and gave them a ſweat that way, or he contrived ſuch ſports for them as would put them into one; or if any buſineſs happened that was to be done, he ſo managed it, that they ſhould not return without ſweating: For this he judged to be of ſervice in order to make them eat with pleaſure, to make them healthy, and to make them able to undergo labour: And labour he judged to be of uſe in making them more gentle one towards another; becauſe even horſes that labour jointly together, ſtand likewiſe more gently and tamely together. And they who are conſcious to themſelves of being duly exerciſed, are inſpired with more bravery and courage againſt the enemy.

CYRUS likewiſe provided himſelf with a tent ſufficient to contain thoſe that he invited to ſup with him: He invited for the moſt part ſuch of the colonels

nels as he thought proper: But he ſometimes invited ſome of the captains, ſome of the commanders of ten, and ſome of the commanders of five; ſometimes ſome of the ſoldiers, and ſometimes a whole five, a whole ten, a whole company, or a whole regiment together. He invited likewiſe and rewarded thoſe that he ſaw practiſe any ſuch thing as he deſired all the others ſhould imitate. And the things that were ſet before himſelf, and before thoſe that he invited to ſupper, were always alike. He always made the ſervants of the army likewiſe equal ſharers in all things; for he thought it was not leſs becoming him to reward thoſe who ſerved in the concerns of the army, than to reward heralds and ambaſſadors: For he was of opinion that they ought to be faithful, ſkilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous in their buſineſs, quick of diſpatch, diligent, and orderly: Beſides, whatever good quality they had who were accounted the better ſort, that *Cyrus* thought the ſervants ought to be poſſeſſed of; and that it was their duty to bring themſelves by practice to refuſe no work, but to think it becoming them to do all things whatever that their commanders ſhould enjoin.

AND *Cyrus* always took care that while he entertained any of them in his tent, the moſt agreeable ſubjects of diſcourſe, and ſuch as might excite them to good, ſhould be thrown in amongſt them. Upon a certain occaſion therefore he began this diſcourſe: "Friends! ſaid he, are other men, think you, any

" ways inferior to us, by reaſon of their not being
" diſciplined in the ſame manner as we are? or will
" they prove not to differ from us at all, either in
" their converſe with each other, or in action againſt
" the enemy?"—*Hyſtaſpes*, in anſwer to him, ſaid:
" What they may prove to be in action againſt the
" enemy, I do not yet know; but, by the gods!
" ſome of them ſeem already to be very perverſe and
" churliſh in their converſation. For yeſterday, ſaid
" he, *Cyaxares* ſent certain victims to every regi-
" ment; and we had every one of us three portions,
" or more, that were carried and diſtributed around.
" Our cook began his firſt diſtribution by me, when
" the perſon who was to make the ſecond diſtribution
" entered; I bid him begin with the laſt man, and
" carry round the contrary way. One, therefore, from
" the middle of the circle of the ſoldiers, as they lay,
" cried out, By *Jove!* ſaid he, there is no manner
" of equality or fairneſs in this, unleſs ſome body
" begin from us here in the middle: I hearing this,
" was uneaſy that any of them ſhould think they lay
" under a diſadvantage; and I preſently bid him
" come to me; in this he in a very orderly manner
" obeyed me; but when the portions that were
" diſtributing came to us who were to take laſt, they
" were the leaſt that were left; he then plainly diſ-
" covered himſelf to be very much afflicted, and ſaid
" to himſelf, O ill fortune! that I ſhould happen to
" be called hither! I then ſaid to him, do not be diſ-
" turbed; it will begin preſently by us, and you

" ſhall

" ſhall take firſt the biggeſt portion: at the third
" going about, which was the laſt turn, he took the
" next after me; but as ſoon as the third perſon had
" taken, he fancied that this man had taken a larger
" portion than himſelf, and he threw back that, that he
" had taken, intending to take another; but the cook,
" thinking that he wanted no more meat, moved on,
" diſtributing around, before he took another por-
" tion: here he bore ſo ill the misfortune of loſing
" the portion he had taken, that being ſtruck and in
" wrath at his ill fortune, he miſplaced and overturn-
" ed ſome ſauce he had remaining: a captain, who
" was the neareſt us, ſeeing this, clapped his hands,
" and laughed out, much delighted; I, ſaid *Hyſtaſpes*,
" made as if I coughed; for I was not able to hold
" from laughing.—*Cyrus*, ſaid he, ſuch a one do I
" ſhew you one of our companions to be."—Upon this, as was natural, they laughed.

ANOTHER of the colonels then ſpoke: " *Cyrus*,
" ſaid he, this *Hyſtaſpes*, it ſeems, has met with one
" of a very perverſe temper: but as you inſtruct us
" in the order and diſcipline we were to obſerve, and
" diſmiſſed us with commands to inſtruct every one
" his regiment in the things he had learned from
" you, ſo I, as others did, came to a certain com-
" pany, and was teaching them; and placing the
" captain firſt, and then a young man in order after
" him, and ſo the reſt, as I thought proper; and
" then ſtanding before them, and looking upon the
" company; when I thought it the proper time, I

" gave

" gave the command to advance; this young man,
" advancing before the captain, marched firſt; I,
" ſeeing him do thus, ſaid to him; Friend, what are
" you doing? The man ſaid, Why I advance as you
" command me. But, ſaid I, I did not command
" only you to advance, but all; then turning to his
" companions, Do not you hear, ſaid he, that the
" colonel commands you all to advance? Then all
" of them, paſſing the captain by, came up to me; but
" when the captain made them retire back again, they
" were offended, and ſaid, Whom are we to obey?
" for now one bids us to advance, and another will
" not ſuffer us to do it: Bearing all this contentedly,
" and placing them as at firſt, I told them, that none
" of thoſe behind ſhould move till he that was before
" him led the way, but that they ſhould all mind
" only to follow their leading-man. In the mean
" time, there came to me a certain perſon that was
" going to *Perſia*, and he bid me give him the letter
" I had wrote home; now the captain knew where the
" letter lay; I bid him therefore run and fetch this let-
" ter he ran his way; the young man, armed as he was
" with corſelet and ſword, followed after his captain;
" the reſt of his company ſeeing him run, ran off
" with him; and all of them came back again, and
" brought me the letter. — Thus, ſaid he, is this
" company of mine mighty exact in executing all the
" inſtructions they receive from you."—The reſt, as
was natural, laughed at this guard and attendance
upon the letter. But *Cyrus* ſaid, " O *Jove*, and all

" you

" you gods! What men have we for our compa-
" nions! They are so easily served, that many of
" them might be made one's friends for a little
" portion of meat! And they are so obedient, that
" they obey before they understand what they are
" ordered to do! For my part, I do not know
" what sort of men we should wish the soldiers to
" be, unless it be just such." And *Cyrus* thus in
" laughing praised the soldiers.

THERE happened at that time to be in the tent a certain colonel; his name was *Aglaitadas*, a churlish and austere sort of man in his manners; and he spoke thus: " Do you think now, *Cyrus*, said he,
" that these men tell you the truth?" " Why,
" what end, said *Cyrus*, have they in lying?"
" What else, said he, but to make you laugh; and
" for this reason they tell you these stories in a vain
" arrogant way." " Good words! pray! said *Cyrus*;
" Do not say that they are vain and arrogant! For
" the word *arrogant* seems to me to lie upon such
" as feign themselves richer or braver than they
" really are; and pretend to do what they are not
" able to do; and that plainly act thus in order to
" get something, and make profit to themselves;
" they that move their companions to laughter,
" and do it, neither for their own gain, nor to the
" hearers prejudice, nor with intent to do any man-
" ner of harm, why may not such be called polite
" and agreeable, much rather than arrogant?" —
Thus did *Cyrus* apologize for such as afforded

matter of laughter.—The colonel then, who had told the pleaſant ſtory of the company of ſoldiers, ſaid, "If we endeavoured, *Aglaitadas!* to make you "cry, would not you blame us very much? As "there are ſome who in ſongs and diſcourſes utter- "ing certain melancholy notes and things, endea- "vour to move people by tears; but now, though "you yourſelf know that we are deſirous to give "you pleaſure, and not in the leaſt to hurt you, yet "you hold us thus in great diſgrace." "By *Jove*, ſaid "*Aglaitadas*, I do, and juſtly; becauſe, in my opi- "nion, he that makes his friends laugh does a "more worthleſs and inſignificant thing than he "who makes him cry: and you will find, if you "reckon right, that I ſay true: fathers bring their "ſons to a diſcreet and modeſt temper of mind, "and teachers their youth to all good learning, by "tears; and it is by affliction and tears that the "laws influence citizens to juſtice in their conduct: "but can you poſſibly ſay, that your movers of "laughter either do any ſervice to the bodies of "men, or form their minds to a better ſenſe of "their duty, with reſpect to their private families, "or to the publick?"—Upon this, *Hyſtaſpes* ſpoke in this manner: "*Aglaitadas!* ſaid he, if you will "follow my advice, you ſhall boldly lay out this "very valuable thing upon our enemies; and you "ſhall endeavour to ſet them a crying; but that "worthleſs thing, laughter, you ſhall ſpend upon "us, ſaid he, here amongſt your friends. I know

"you

" you have a great deal of it that lies by you in " ſtore; for you neither uſe nor ſpend it yourſelf; " nor do you willingly afford laughter either to your " friends, or to ſtrangers: ſo that you have no " manner of pretence to refuſe beſtowing it upon " us." " Then, ſaid *Aglaitadas*, Do you endeavour " to get it out of me?" And the leader of the company ſaid, " By *Jove!* then he is a fool indeed; " for I believe one may ſtrike fire out of you more " eaſily than draw laughter from you." — At this the others laughed, knowing the temper of the man; and *Aglaitadas* himſelf ſmiled at it: *Cyrus* ſeeing him pleaſed, ſaid, " Indeed, captain! you are " in the wrong to corrupt the moſt ſerious man we " have, by tempting him to laugh; and to do this, " ſaid he, to one who is ſo great an enemy to laugh- " ter!" — Here ended this ſubject of diſcourſe.

AFTER this, *Chryſantas* ſpoke thus: " But, *Cyrus!* " ſaid he, I, and all that are here preſent, conſider, " that there are come hither with us, men, who have " ſome of them more merit, and ſome leſs; and if " any advantage fall in our way, they will all think " themſelves entitled to an equal ſhare of it: but, " for my part, I do not think that any thing can " be more unequal amongſt men, than that the " good and the bad ſhould be entitled to equal ad- " vantages." *Cyrus* to this ſaid: " By the gods! " then, friends! it were beſt for us to give this out, " and propoſe it to be debated in the army, whe- " ther they think it proper, if, in conſequence of

" our labours God give us any advantage, that all " ſhould ſhare alike in it? Or that, examining the " actions of every one, we ſhall give to each, re- " wards proportionable?" " But why, ſaid *Chry-* " *ſantas*, ſhould you give this out to be diſcourſed " upon, and not declare that you will have it ſo? " Did not you declare, ſaid he, What the ſoldiers " ſhould contend and vie with each other in? and " what the rewards of the contention ſhould be?" " But, by *Jove!* ſaid *Cyrus*, theſe matters and thoſe " are not alike; for what they ſhall acquire by their " ſervice, that, I believe, they will reckon common " to them all; but the command of the army they " take to be mine even from the firſt ſetting out; " ſo that in appointing officers, I believe, they " think I do them no wrong." " And do you " think, ſaid *Chryſantas*, that the multitude aſſem- " bled will ever decree that every one ſhall not have " his equal ſhare; but that the beſt ſhall have the " advantage, in profits and honours?" I do think it, " ſaid *Cyrus*, partly, becauſe of your aſſiſtance in it; " and partly, becauſe it is infamous to aſſert, that " he who labours moſt for the publick, and does it " moſt ſervice, is not entitled to the greateſt re- " wards: and I believe, that the very worſt of our " men will think it of ſervice to them, that the beſt " ſhould have the advantage."

CYRUS had a mind that this ſhould be publickly decreed, even upon the account of the alike-honoured; for he thought that they would be yet better men,

if

if they knew that they themſelves were to be judged by their actions, and rewarded accordingly. This, therefore, ſeemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put it to the vote, whilſt the alike-honoured were diſſatisfied with the claim of the multitude to equality of ſhares. So it was the current opinion of thoſe in the tent to give out the diſcourſe upon the ſubject; and they ſaid that every one who thought it his part to act like a man, ought to give his aſſiſtance in it. Upon this, one of the Colonels laughed, and ſaid, "I know, ſaid he, a man, one of the common "people, who will help to juſtify this opinion, that "this equality of ſhares, without diſtinction, ought "not to be." Another aſked him, whom he meant? He replied, "Truly, he is one of my own tent, "and is upon every occaſion ſeeking to get the "advantage and upper-hand of others." Another then aſked, "And does he ſeek it in labour and "taking pains? No, by *Jove!* ſaid he, not in that; "but here you have caught me in a lye, for with "reſpect to labour and things of that kind, he al-"ways contentedly allows any one to get the upper-"hand of him that will."

"FRIENDS! ſaid *Cyrus*, my judgment is, that ſuch "men as this perſon ſpeaks of, ought to be weeded "out of the army, if we intend to preſerve it in its "virtue and vigour, and to render the ſoldiers "obedient: For the ſoldiers ſeem to me to be ſuch "as will follow where any one ſhall lead them the "way: Good and excellent men certainly endeavour

" to lead to things good and excellent; vicious
" men to things vicious; and corrupt men have often
" more abettors, than the ſober and induſtrious.
" For vice, that takes its courſe through preſent
" pleaſures, has theſe pleaſures to aſſiſt in perſwading
" the multitude to abet her; but virtue that moves
" upwards, has not ſtrength enough in preſent oc-
" caſions to draw men without diſtinction after
" her; eſpecially if there are others,, in oppoſition to
" her, that exhort men to follow the prone and eaſy
" tract. They therefore who are faulty upon the
" account of ſloth and indolence; theſe I reckon,
" like drones, are burthenſome to their companions
" only by the expence of maintaining them; but
" active aſſociates in vice, who proſecute their
" intereſt with induſtry and impudence, theſe are the
" leaders of men to vicious courſes; for they often
" have it in their power to ſhew them that vice
" will be ſerviceable to their intereſt: So that ſuch
" men muſt entirely be weeded out. Then pray!
" do not conſider how to recruit your regiments
" with your own countrymen; but, as in horſes,
" you look for thoſe that are beſt, and not for thoſe
" that are of your own country; ſo of men, take
" ſuch as you think will moſt contribute to your
" ſtrength and good order. And that it will be
" to our advantage to do ſo, this will bear me teſti-
" mony: that neither is a chariot ſwift, if it have but
" ſlow horſes; nor is it true, if joined to vicious and
" unmanagable ones; nor can a family be well re-

" gulated

" gulated that uſes vicious ſervants; but a family that
" wants ſervants, is leſs injured than one that is
" confounded by unjuſt ones. And be it known to
" you, friends! that the turning out of the vicious,
" will not only be of advantage to you in their being out
" of the way; but of thoſe that remain, they who have
" had vice inſtilled into them, will diſcharge themſelves
" of it again; and the good ſeeing the vicious pu-
" niſhed, will adhere to virtue with much more
" warmth and zeal."—Thus he ſaid.—All his friends were of opinion with him, and did accordingly.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* began again to ſet jeſt and merriment on foot; for obſerving that one of the captains had brought with him a fellow-gueſt, and had placed him next to himſelf; that the man was exceſſively rough and hairy, and very ugly; he called the captain by his name, and ſpoke thus: " *Sambaulas!* - ſaid he, that young man that lies next " to you, do you carry him about with you, ac-
" cording to the *Greek* cuſtom, becauſe he is hand-
" ſome?" " No, by *Jove!* ſaid *Sambaulas!* but " I am pleaſed with his converſation, and even with " looking at him."—They that were preſent in the tent, upon hearing this, looked at the man, and when they ſaw that his face was exceſſive ugly, they all laughed; and one of them ſaid, " In the name " of all the gods! *Sambaulas!* by what piece of ſer-
" vice has this man ſo tied himſelf to you?" He ſaid, " By *Jove!* friends, I will tell you, whenever I " have called upon him, either by night or by day,

" he never pretended want of leiſure, never obeyed
" lazily, but always ran to his buſineſs with the utmoſt
" diſpatch: as often as I have ordered him to do a
" thing, I never ſaw him execute it without putting
" himſelf into a ſweat; and he has made the whole
" *twelve* ſuch as himſelf, not ſhewing them in word,
" but in action, what they ought to be." Then ſomebody ſaid, " Since he is ſuch an extraordinary
" man, do not you kiſs him as you do relations?"
And to this the homely perſon replied, " No, by
" *Jove!* ſaid he, for he is not one of thoſe that are
" fond of labour and pains; and to kiſs me would be
" asmuch to him, as if he underwent the greateſt toil."

SUCH kind of diſcourſes and things, both merry and ſerious, paſſed amongſt them in the tent. And having at laſt performed the third libation, and made their prayers to the gods for their bleſſings, they broke up their company in the tent, in order to go to reſt.

THE next day, *Cyrus* aſſembled all the ſoldiers, and ſpoke to them to this effect: " Friends! the con-
" flict is at hand! for the enemies are approaching:
" The rewards of our victory, if we conquer, it is
" evident, are our enemies themſelves, and their for-
" tunes. On the other hand, if we are conquered,
" (for this ought always to be mentioned,) thus like-
" wiſe do the fortunes of the conquered ſtand ex-
" poſed as the rewards of the conquerors. There-
" fore thus, (ſaid he,) you ought to determine with
" yourſelves, that when men are united as aſſociates

" in

" in war, if every one within himſelf makes account,
" that nothing will be as it ought to be, unleſs every
" one be inſpired with zeal and ardour, they then
" preſently perform things great and noble; for no-
" thing of what is proper to be done is in this caſe
" neglected. But when every one imagines that ano-
" ther is to fight and act, though he himſelf play the
" drone, be it known to you, (ſaid he,) that with
" ſuch, the ſucceſs of things will be unhappy to
" them all. God himſelf has ſo eſtabliſhed it; to
" thoſe who will not impoſe upon themſelves the taſk
" of labouring for their own advantage, he gives
" other taſk-maſters. Now therefore, (ſaid he,) let
" ſome one ſtand up and ſpeak to this point; whe-
" ther he think that virtue will be the better prac-
" tiſed amongſt us, if he who chooſes to undergo the
" greateſt toil and run the greateſt hazards obtain
" the greateſt rewards? or if we all ſee that the
" worthleſs man lies under no diſadvantage, but that
" all of us are to ſhare alike?"

HERE *Chryſantas*, one of the alike-honoured, one who was neither tall in his perſon, nor whoſe looks beſpoke either courage or ſpirit, but a man of excellent underſtanding, roſe up and ſpoke thus: " In
" truth, *Cyrus*, (ſays he,) my opinion is, that you do
" not propoſe this to our debate, as judging it fit
" that the worthleſs ſhould ſtand upon a foot of
" equal advantage with the deſerving; but to try
" whether there be ſuch a man amongſt us that will
" venture to diſcover himſelf to be of opinion, that

" he

" he who performs nothing that's great and noble,
" ſhould ſhare equally of thoſe advantages that are
" gained by the virtue and bravery of others. I
" am (ſaid he) neither ſwift of foot, nor have I great
" ſtrength and vigour in my hands and arms; and
" by what I can perform with my perſon I reckon I
" cannot be judged to be the firſt man, nor yet
" the ſecond, I believe not the thouſandth, perhaps
" not the ten thouſandth; but this I very well know,
" that if they who are men of ſtrength ſet their
" hands vigorouſly to the work, I ſhall have my
" ſhare in ſome advantage or other, and as much as
" is juſtly due to me; but if mean and worthleſs
" men ſhall do nothing, and men of bravery and
" vigour ſhall be quite out of heart, I am afraid I
" ſhall have my ſhare in ſomething elſe rather than
" advantage, and ſuch a ſhare as will be greater than
" I deſire." Thus ſpoke *Chryſantas.*

AFTER him roſe *Pheraulas*, a *Perſian*, one of the common people; a man intimately known to *Cyrus*, and much in his favour whilſt they were yet in *Perſia*; one whoſe perſon was not uncomely, and who, with reſpect to his mind, was not like one of the mean and ignoble; and he ſpoke to this effect: " I, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) " and all the *Perſians* here preſent, reckon
" ourſelves now entered in the liſts of virtue, and
" ſetting forward in its career upon an equal foot:
" for I ſee that our bodies are all exerciſed alike, and
" nouriſhed with like food; that like company and
" converſation is vouchſafed to us all; and that the

" ſame

" ſame honourable actions lie before us; for obedi-
" ence to our commanders lies before us in com-
" mon, and whoever is found ſincerely to practiſe it,
" that man, I ſee, obtains rewards and honours at
" the hands of *Cyrus*: then to act with bravery
" againſt the enemy is not a thing that is becoming
" to one, and is otherwiſe to another, but ſtands re-
" commended as great and noble to us all; and I
" take upon me to ſay, that our method of fight
" is now plainly taught us. I ſee that all men natu-
" rally know it, as every other animal naturally
" knows a certain method of fight, and this without
" learning it from any other than from nature; as
" the bull attacks with his horn, the horſe with his
" hoof, the dog with his mouth, the boar with his
" tooth; and all of them know, (ſaid he,) by what
" means beſt to defend themſelves againſt the attack
" of others; and theſe things proceed not from the
" inſtruction of any maſter in theſe arts. I under-
" ſtood preſently from a child, how to interpoſe
" ſomething between myſelf and the perſon who of-
" fered to ſtrike me; and if I had nothing elſe, I en-
" deavoured, as well as I was able, by holding up my
" hands, to hinder and oppoſe the perſon that aſ-
" ſaulted me; and this I did not only without being
" taught it, but even though I were beaten for de-
" fending myſelf. When I was a child, wherever I
" ſaw a ſword, I preſently ſeized it; nor was I taught
" how to handle it by any one, but, as I ſay, by na-
" ture: this therefore I did, not only untaught, but

" even croſſed and hindered in it, as there are many
" other things that I have been neceſſarily prompted
" by nature to do, though controuled and checked in
" them both by my father and mother. Then, by
" *Jove!* with this ſword I hacked and hewed what-
" ever came in my way, when I could do it privately,
" and unſeen; for it was not only natural to me,
" like walking and running, but beſides its being na-
" tural, I thought it a pleaſure to do it. Since there-
" fore, (ſaid he,) that fighting is the thing now left us
" to do, and that it is a work that requires courage
" rather than art, how can it be other than a pleaſure
" to us to enter the liſts with theſe noble perſons the
" alike-honoured? When the rewards of virtue lie
" equally before us, and we of the people do not run
" an equal riſque? They have at ſtake a life of ho-
" nour, which is the moſt agreeable, and the only one
" that can be called a life; we only a laborious and
" ignoble one, which, in my opinion, is but painful
" and unhappy. Then this, friends! greatly ani-
" mates me to enter the liſts againſt theſe men, that
" *Cyrus* is to be our judge; he who judges not parti-
" ally and invidiouſly; but I aver, and ſwear it by
" the gods, that I think *Cyrus* loves thoſe that he finds
" to be deſerving, not leſs than he does himſelf;
" accordingly I obſerve that he beſtows what he has,
" upon ſuch men, with more pleaſure than he takes
" in his own poſſeſſion of it. Beſides, (ſaid he,)
" theſe men are greatly elevated with their having
" been diſciplined to bear hunger, thirſt, and cold,

" not

" not knowing that we have been diſciplined in the " ſame things, under a much abler teacher than they " have been; for there is none a more effectual " teacher of theſe things than neceſſity, that has " taught them us in the compleateſt manner. " Theſe men have exerciſed themſelves in the labour " of bearing arms, that have been ſo contrived by all " men, as to be worn with the greateſt eaſe: but we, (ſaid he,) " have been obliged, by neceſſity, to walk " and run under heavy burthens, ſo that the arms we " now bear, ſeem to me not to be like burthens, but " rather like wings. So count upon me, ſaid he, " *Cyrus!* as one that will engage in this diſpute, and " who deſire, whatever degree I am in, to be rewarded " according to my deſert. And I exhort you, my " friends of the people, to embark in this military " contention againſt theſe men of diſcipline, for they " are now drawn in, and caught in this popular diſ- " pute." — So ſpoke *Pheraulas*; and many others ſtood up to ſupport them both in their opinion. It was thought fit, therefore, that every one ſhould be rewarded according to his deſert, and that *Cyrus* ſhould be the judge.

THUS did theſe things proceed; and *Cyrus* took an occaſion to invite an entire regiment, together with their colonel, to ſup with him. This he did upon having ſeen the man forming half the men of his regiment againſt the other half, in order to attack each other; they had all of them their corſelets on, and in their left hands their ſhields; but to one

half

half he had given good large ſticks for their right hands, and the others he had ordered to gather clods to throw. When they ſtood thus ready prepared, he gave them the ſignal to engage: Then theſe fell on with their clods; ſome chanced to fall upon the corſelets of the oppoſite party, ſome upon their ſhields, ſome hit a thigh, ſome a leg; but when they came to cloſe, they who had the ſticks applied their blows upon the thighs, hands, and legs of their adverſaries, as well as upon the necks and backs of ſuch as ſtooped for their clods; and at laſt, they that were armed with the ſticks put the others to the rout, laying them on with much laughter and diverſion. Then the others, in their turn, taking the ſticks, did the ſame thing to thoſe, who took their turn in throwing the clods. *Cyrus* was much taken with theſe things, both with the contrivance of the officer, the obedience of the men, that they were at the ſame time both exerciſed and diverted, and that thoſe men gained the victory who were armed in the manner that reſembled the *Perſians.* Being pleaſed with theſe things, he invited them to ſupper, and obſerving ſome of them with their ſhins bound up, and ſome with their hands in the ſame condition, he aſked them what harm they had got? They ſaid, "They had been ſtruck with the clods." He then aſked them again, "Whether it was when "they were cloſe together, or while they were at a "diſtance?" They ſaid, "While they were at a "diſtance; but that when they cloſed, it was the

"fineſt

"fineſt ſport imaginable for thoſe that were armed "with the ſticks; but then again, they that were "wounded by the ſticks, cried out, that they did "not at all think it a diverſion to be thraſhed in "that cloſe way." They ſhew the blows they received from thoſe that held the ſticks both upon their hands and neck, and ſome in their faces; and then, as was natural, they laughed at one another.—The next day the whole field was full of people imitating theſe men; and whenever they had nothing of more ſerious buſineſs to do, they made uſe of this diverſion.

AND *Cyrus* obſerving another colonel, upon a certain occaſion, leading his men from the river, one by one, to their dinner; and when he thought it proper, ordering the ſecond, third, and fourth company to advance in front; and when the captains were all in front, ordering each company to double their files, upon which the commanders of tens advanced in front; and that then, when he thought it proper, he ordered each company to bring themſelves to be four in front; thus the commanders of five advanced that the company might march four in front; and that when they arrived at the door of the tent, commanding them to enter one by one; he introduced the firſt company, ordering the ſecond to follow them in the rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and ſo lead them all in; and that introducing them in this manner he ſat them all down to their meat in the order as they entered.

He

He being much taken with this man for his good temper, inſtruction, and care, invited the whole regiment to ſup with him, together with the colonel.—But another colonel, who had not been invited, being preſent at the time, ſpoke thus: "But my regiment, "*Cyrus!* ſaid he, you do not invite to your tent; yet "when they go to their dinner, they perform all theſe "things; and when the buſineſs in the tent is over, "the rear-leader of the laſt company leads out that "company with the laſt men ranged firſt in order for "battle; then the rear leader of the next company "follows after theſe; ſo the third and fourth in the "ſame manner; that, when it is proper to lead off "from the enemy, they may know how to retreat. "And when we get into the courſe, we there move "about; when we march to the eaſt, I lead the way, "and the firſt company moves firſt, the ſecond in its "order, ſo the third and fourth, and the tens and "fives of the ſeveral companies, in the proper courſe, "as long as I give orders accordingly: But, (ſaid he,) "when we march to the weſt, the rear-leader "and the laſt men lead the way, and yet obey me "who march laſt; that they *be* accuſtomed both to "follow and to lead with equal obedience." "And "do you always do thus?" ſaid *Cyrus*. "As often, (ſaid he,) "as we take our meals." "I will invite "you, therefore, ſaid he, becauſe you practiſe your "exerciſe both in advancing and retreating, by day "and night, and both exerciſe your bodies by the "motion, and profit your minds by the diſcipline. "And

"And ſince you do all theſe things double, it is but "juſt that I ſhould give you double good entertain-"ment." "By *Jove!* (ſaid the Colonel,) not in one "day, unleſs you give us double ſtomachs too." —Thus they made an end of that converſation in the tent; and the next day *Cyrus* invited this regiment, as he ſaid he would, and did the ſame again the day following. The reſt perceiving this, all imitated thoſe men for the future.

BUT as *Cyrus*, upon a certain occaſion, was making a general muſter and review of his men under arms, there came a meſſenger from *Cyaxares*, acquainting him that an *Indian* embaſſy was arrived. "*Cy-*"*axares*, (ſaid the meſſenger,) deſires that you would "come as ſoon as poſſible, and from him I bring you "a beautiful robe; for he has a mind that you ſhould "appear in the handſomeſt and moſt ſplendid man-"ner, the *Indians* being to ſee the manner of your "approach." *Cyrus*, hearing this, gave command to the Colonel who ſtood firſt in order, to place himſelf in front, bringing his men into one line behind him, and to keep himſelf to the right. He commanded him to tranſmit the ſame orders to the ſecond, and ſo to deliver them down through the whole. Theſe men, in obedience to *Cyrus*, preſently delivered down the orders, and put them in execution. In a very little time they formed a front of three hundred, for that was the number of the colonels, and they were an hundred in depth. When they ſtood thus, he commanded them to follow as he ſhould lead

them; and beginning presently to run, he led them the way. But when he perceived the avenue, that led to the palace, straiter than to allow them all to move on in front; he commanded the first thousand to follow in the situation and order they were in, and the next to follow in the rear of this, and so in like manner throughout the whole. He himself led on without stopping. The other thousands followed, each in the rear of those that went before; and he sent two servants to the opening of the avenue, to give information of what was to be done, in case any should be ignorant of it. When they came to *Cyaxares*'s gates, he commanded the first colonel to form his regiment to twelve in depth, and to range the commanders of twelves in front around the palace; he commanded him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole. They did accordingly. — He himself went in to *Cyaxares*, in a plain *Persian* robe, undisguised with foreign ornaments; *Cyaxares* seeing him, was displeased with his dispatch, but offended at the meanness of his robe; and said, "What have you done, *Cyrus!* in appearing thus before the *Indians?*" "I had a mind, (said he,) "that you should appear in the most splendid "manner; and it had been an ornament to me, for "you, who are my sister's son, to have appeared the "most magnificent that was possible." *Cyrus* to this said, "Which way, *Cyaxares*, had I been the "greater ornament to you, whether, if cloathing "myself in purple, putting on bracelets, and en-

"com-

" compaſſing my neck with a collar, I had obeyed
" you in a loitering manner; or now, that with ſo
" great and ſo good a force, I obey you with ſuch
" diſpatch, having, in honour of you, adorned myſelf
" with ſweat and diligence, and adorning you, by
" ſhewing the reſt to be ſo obedient to your orders?"
Cyrus thus ſpoke.

CYAXARES, judging that he ſaid right, gave order to introduce the *Indians*. The *Indians*, being come in, ſaid, " That the king of the *Indians* had
" ſent them; and had commanded them to aſk,
" What was the cauſe of the war between the *Medes*
" and *Aſſyrians?* And when we had heard you, (ſaid
" they,) he commanded us to go to the *Aſſyrian*, and
" aſk him the ſame queſtion; and, in the end, to
" tell you both, that the king of the *Indians* does
" declare, that, after having informed himſelf of the
" juſtice of the cauſe, he will take part with the
" injured." *Cyaxares* to this ſaid: " You hear me
" therefore declare, that we have done no injury
" to the *Aſſyrians*; go then, and enquire from him
" what he ſays to it." *Cyrus*, being preſent, aſked *Cyaxares* this queſtion; " And may I, (ſaid he,) ſay
" what I think proper upon this occaſion?" *Cyax-*
" *ares* bid him do ſo. Do you therefore, (ſaid he,)
" acquaint the king of the *Indians* thus! unleſs
" *Cyaxares* judge otherwiſe: That if the *Aſſyrian* ſay,
" he has been any ways injured by us, we declare,
" that we chuſe the king of the *Indians* himſelf to be
" our judge." Theſe men hearing this, went their way.

WHEN the *Indians* were gone, *Cyrus* began a diſcourſe with *Cyaxares* to this effect: "I came from "home, *Cyaxares*, without having abundance of "treaſure of my own; and whatever it was, I have "but very littie of it left; for I have ſpent it, (ſaid he) "upon the ſoldiers: this perhaps you will "wonder at, ſince it is you that maintain them. "But be it known to you! (ſaid he,) that it has gone "in nothing elſe but in rewards, and gratifications "to the ſoldiers, whenever I have been pleaſed with "any of them. For, in my opinion, (ſaid he,) it "is a much pleaſanter thing to encourage all thoſe "that one has a mind to make diligent and good "fellow-labourers with one in any buſineſs, of what-"ever kind it be, by ſpeaking them fair, and doing "them good, than to do it by ſevere uſage and by "force. But thoſe that one would have to be zea-"lous fellow-labourers in the buſineſs of war, theſe "I think, ought abſolutely to be courted to it both "by good words and good deeds: for ſuch as are "to be hearty and ſincere fellow-combatants, who "ſhall neither envy their commander in proſperity, "nor betray him in adverſity, ought to be friends "and not enemies. Having determined thus with "myſelf in theſe matters, I think myſelf in want of "money. And yet, to have my eye, upon every "occaſion, upon you, when I ſee you are already "engaged in very great expences, ſeems to me un-"reaſonable. But I think it proper that you and "I ſhould jointly conſider what means to uſe that

"treaſure

" treaſure may not fail you. For if you have plen-
" ty, I know that I may take it whenever I want;
" eſpecially if I take for ſuch a purpoſe, as will
" make it more to your advantage that the treaſure
" ſhould be ſo ſpent. I remember, therefore, upon
" ſome occaſion, lately to have heard you ſay, that
" the *Armenian* is now grown to contemn you, be-
" cauſe he hears that the enemy is coming upon us;
" and beſides, that he neither ſends you the forces,
" nor pays you the tribute that is due." " Indeed,
" *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) theſe things he really does; ſo
" that I am in doubt whether it be better for me to
" make war upon him, and force him to comply, or
" whether it be moſt for our intereſt to let it paſs
" for the preſent, leſt we add him to the number of
" our enemies?" *Cyrus* then aſked; " Are their
" habitations in places of ſtrength, or in ſuch as are
" acceſſible with eaſe?" And *Cyaxares* ſaid, " Their
" habitations are in places that are not very ſtrong;
" for I was not negligent in that affair. But there
" are mountains whither he may immediately retire
" and be in ſafety; ſo as neither to be himſelf ex-
" poſed, nor any thing elſe that may poſſibly be
" carried off thither; unleſs one ſit down and beſiege
" him there, as my father once did." Upon this,
Cyrus ſaid thus: " But if you will ſend me with
" ſuch a number of horſe as may be thought ſuffi-
" cient, I believe, with the aſſiſtance of the gods!
" I can make him ſend you forces, and pay you
" tribute. And beſides, I even hope, that he will

" be yet more our friend than he is now." *Cyaxares* then ſaid: " And I have hopes that he will ſooner " come to you, than he will to us. For I have " heard, that ſome of his children were your fellow- " huntſmen. So that, perhaps, they may come to " you again. And if ſome of them once come to " be in our power, every thing will ſucceed to our " deſire." " Is it not your opinion then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " that it will be for our advantage to conceal this " contrivance between us?" " By this means, (ſaid *Cyaxares*,) " ſome or other of them may the more " eaſily fall into our hands: or if one fall upon " them, they may be taken the more unprepared." " Hear then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) if you think what I am " going to ſay may be of any moment: I have often " hunted upon the borders of your territory, and " that of the *Armenians*, with all the *Perſians* that " were with me; and I went thither, taking likewiſe " from hence ſeveral horſe-men from amongſt my " companions here." " Therefore, (ſaid *Cyaxares*,) " by doing juſt the ſame things now, you may paſs " unſuſpected; but if a much greater force ſhould " appear than what you uſed to have with you in " hunting, this would preſently give ſuſpicion." " But, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) one may frame a very plauſible " pretence in this caſe; and that is, if care be taken " that ſome body give them an account yonder in " *Armenia*, that I intend to undertake a great hunt: " then, (ſaid he,) I would openly deſire from you " a body of horſe." " You ſay very well, (ſaid *Cyaxares*;)

Cyaxares;) "but I ſhall conſent to give you but a "few, as intending to march myſelf to our garriſons "that lie towards *Aſſyria*. And, in reality, (ſaid he,) "I do intend to go thither, in order to ſtrengthen "them as much as poſſible. But when you are got "before with the force you have, and have hunted "for a day or two following, I may ſend you a ſuf- "ficient force both of horſe and foot, out of thoſe "that have rendezvouſed under me. With theſe "you may immediately fall on, and I, with the "other forces, may endeavour to keep not far from "you, that if there be occaſion I may likewiſe ap- "pear."

ACCORDINGLY, *Cyaxares* preſently formed a body of horſe at the garriſons; and ſent waggons with proviſions before by the road that led that way. *Cyrus* preſently made a ſacrifice for his intended march; and at the ſame time ſent and begged of *Cyaxares* ſome of his cavalry, and ſuch as were of the younger ſort. He, though there were multitudes that would have attended *Cyrus*, granted him not very many. *Cyaxares* being now gone before, with forces, both horſe and foot, upon the road towards the garriſons; it happened, that *Cyrus*'s ſacrifice upon his deſign againſt the *Armenian* ſucceeded happily; ſo he ſet forward as prepared for a hunt. As he was marching, a hare ſtarted immediately in the firſt field; and an eagle of happy omen flying towards them, caught ſight of the hare as it ran; and bearing down upon it, ſtruck it;

then ſnatching it up, raiſed it aloft, and bearing it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prey. *Cyrus* therefore, ſeeing this ſignal, paid his adoration to *Jove*, ſovereign of the gods! and ſaid to thoſe who were preſent, "Friends! our hunt, if it pleaſe God, will be a "noble one!"

When they came to the borders, he hunted after his uſual manner. The greater number of his horſe and foot opened themſelves in front, in order to rouſe the beaſts as they moved down upon them. The beſt of his men, both horſe and foot, ſtood here and there diſperſed, received the beaſts as they were rouſed, and purſued them; and they took abundance both of ſwine, ſtags, goats, and wild aſſes; for there are yet abundance of wild aſſes in thoſe parts at this day. When they had finiſhed the hunt, and he had brought them cloſe up to the *Armenian* borders, he ordered them to ſupper; and the next day hunted again, advancing to thoſe mountains that he had deſired to be maſter of. And when he had again ended his ſport, he took his ſupper. But as ſoon as he found that the forces from *Cyaxares* were advancing, he ſent privately to them, and ordered them to take their ſupper at about the diſtance of two parſangs from him, foreſeeing that this would contribute to the concealing the affair. When they had ſupped, he ordered their commander to march and join him. After ſupper was over, he ſummoned the colonels

to him; and when they were come, he ſpoke to them thus:

"FRIENDS! the *Armenian* has been heretofore "both an ally and ſubject of *Cyaxares*: but now that "he finds the enemy coming upon him, he con- "temns him; and neither ſends him forces nor pays "him tribute. It is he, therefore, that we muſt now "hunt, and catch if we can. Thus, therefore, (ſaid he,) "in my opinion, we muſt now do. Do you, "*Chryſantas!* when you have had a little time to "ſleep, take half the *Perſians* that are with us, march "by the hill, and make yourſelf maſter of thoſe "mountains whither, they ſay, the *Armenian* flies "when he finds himſelf in danger; and I will give "you guides. They ſay theſe mountains are full of "woods; ſo that there are hopes you will not be "diſcovered. However, if you ſend before the reſt "of your army, ſome light men, equipped for "expedition, who both by their number and habit "may look like plunderers; theſe men, if they "meet with any of the *Armenians*, will prevent "thoſe that they can take, from giving an account "of things; and by driving away thoſe they cannot "take, will hinder them from ſeeing the whole "army; and will make them provide for themſelves "only as againſt a band of thieves. Do you, (ſaid he,) "do thus. I, at break of day, with half the "foot and all the horſe, will march directly to the "palace of the *Armenian*, by the plain. If he make "head againſt us, it is plain we muſt fight. If he

" retire, and quit the plain, it is evident we muſt
" haſten after in purſuit of him. If he fly to the
" mountains, then, (ſaid he,) it is your buſineſs not
" to allow any of thoſe that come to eſcape you;
" but reckon, as in hunting, that we are to be the
" finders, and that you ſtand at the nets. Remember
" therefore this; that the paſſages muſt be firſt ſtop-
" ped before the beaſt is rouſed: and that they who
" are appointed to that ſtation ought to keep con-
" cealed, if they have not a mind to turn off every
" thing that takes its courſe towards them. And
" do not act now, (ſaid he,) *Chryſantas!* as the love
" of hunting has ſometimes made you do: for you
" have often been employed the whole night, and
" have not ſlept at all. But you ſhould now allow
" your men to lie down awhile, that they may get a
" little ſleep. And becauſe you uſed to wander
" through the mountains, without taking men for
" your guides, but purſued wherever the beaſts led
" the way; do not march, therefore, now, through
" ſuch difficult places; but bid your guides lead you
" the eaſieſt way, unleſs there be one that is abun-
" dantly the ſhorter; for to an army the eaſieſt way
" is the quickeſt. And becauſe you uſed to paſs the
" mountains running, do not therefore now lead on
" at full ſpeed, but with middling diſpatch, in ſuch
" ſort, that the army may follow you. And it
" is of great uſe that ſome of the moſt vigorous and
" hearty ſhould halt ſometimes, and encourage the
" reſt; and when the whole wing is paſſed, it ani-

" mates

" mates the others to diſpatch, to ſee theſe running " beſides them, and paſſing them by as they them- " ſelves move on in their gentle pace."

CHRYSANTAS hearing this, and being tranſported with the orders *Cyrus* had given him, took his guides, and went his way. And having given the proper directions to thoſe that were to attend in his march, he went to reſt. When they had had a moderate time for reſt, he marched to the mountains.

CYRUS, as ſoon as it was day, diſpatched a meſſenger to the *Armenian*; and bid him ſay thus: " Prince of *Armenia!* *Cyrus* ſends you theſe direc- " tions, that you would come away as ſoon as poſſi- " ble, and bring with you your tribute, and your " forces. If he aſks you where I am? tell him the " truth, that I am upon the borders. If he aſk " whether I am advancing towards him? tell him " the truth here too, that you do not know. If " he enquire how many we are in number? bid him " ſend ſome body back with you to learn." Having given the meſſenger theſe orders, he diſpatched him away; thinking it more friendly to do thus, than to march without ſending word. And having formed his men into the beſt order, both for diſpatch in marching, and for engagement in caſe of need, he began the march; firſt commanding his men to injure no one; and if any of them met with an *Armenian*, to bid him be of good heart; and to order every one that had a mind to ſell either meat or drink, to come and make his market wherever they were.

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK III.

CYRUS was taken up in theſe affairs; but the *Armenian*, as ſoon as he heard from the meſſenger what *Cyrus* ſent to tell him, was ſtruck with it, conſidering that he had acted unjuſtly both in failing to pay his tribute, and in not ſending his forces; and the thing he principally feared was, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered to have begun fortifying the place of his reſidence in ſuch ſort as to render it defenſible. Being at a loſs upon all theſe accounts, he ſent around to aſſemble his forces; at the ſame time he ſent his younger ſon, *Sabaris*, his own wife, his ſon's wife, and his own daughters, away to the mountains, and ſent with them all his moſt valuable apparel and furniture, appointing them a force to conduct them;

and

and at the ſame time he ſent out ſcouts to diſcover what *Cyrus* was doing, and muſtered all the *Armenians* he had at preſent with him; when immediately there arrived others, who told him that *Cyrus* was juſt behind them, and not having courage enough, upon this occaſion, to come to action, he retired.

THE *Armenians*, when they ſaw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own affairs, with intent to put all their effects out of the way. *Cyrus*, when he ſaw the whole country full of people running up and down, and driving all off, ſent them word, that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home; but if he caught any one making his eſcape, he declared he would treat him as an enemy. So the major part remained; ſome there were who went off with the king.

BUT when they who conducted the women fell in among thoſe who were in the mountains, they preſently ſet up a cry, and betaking themſelves to flight, many of them were taken, and at laſt the ſon of the *Armenian*; the two wives and the daughters were likewiſe taken, as well as all the rich effects that were carrying off with them. As ſoon as the king perceived what had paſſed, being at a loſs which way to turn himſelf, he fled to a certain eminence. *Cyrus* ſeeing this, ſurrounded the eminence with the army that he had with him, and ſending to *Chryſantas*, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains, and to come away. The army then joined under *Cyrus*, and he, ſending a herald to the *Armenian*, put the queſtion

queſtion to him in this manner: "Tell me, (ſaid he,) "*Armenian*, whether it is your choice, ſtaying there, "to combat and ſtruggle with thirſt and hunger, or "to come down upon fair ground, and fight us?" The *Armenian* anſwered, "That he did not chuſe to "engage in either of theſe ways." *Cyrus* ſending again to him, aſked him this queſtion: "Why, then, "ſit you there, and do not come down?" — "I am "at a loſs, (ſaid he,) what I ought to do." — "But "you ought not to be at a loſs about it, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) "for you are at liberty to come down, and have your "cauſe tried." — "And who, (ſaid he,) ſhall be the "judge?" — "He, without doubt, to whom God has "given power to deal with you as he pleaſes, without "a trial." Here the *Armenian*, ſeeing the neceſſity, came down; and *Cyrus* taking him, and all that belonged to him, into the midſt of them, encamped around, having his whole force with him.

JUST at this time, *Tygranes*, the eldeſt ſon of the *Armenian*, returned from a journey he had taken abroad; he who had been heretofore a fellow-huntſman with *Cyrus*. When he heard what had happened, he went directly to *Cyrus* juſt as he was, and when he ſaw his father, and mother, his brother, his ſiſters, and his wife priſoners, he wept, as was natural for him to do. *Cyrus*, upon ſeeing him, gave him no other mark of reſpect or friendſhip, but ſaid to him, "You are come very opportunely, that you may be "preſent and hear the trial and determination of your "father's cauſe!" He then preſently ſummoned all

the

the commanders of the *Perſians* and the *Medes*, and invited all ſuch of the *Armenians* there, as were men of note and quality; and the women, who were there preſent in their chariots, he ſent not away, but allowed them to hear.

When all was ready, and in order, he began the diſcourſe: "*Armenian*, (ſaid he,) firſt of all I adviſe "you, in this trial of your cauſe, to ſpeak the truth, "that you may be free from one crime at leaſt, which "is a moſt hateful one; for be aſſured, that, to be "found falſe, is the greateſt bar that can lie in mens "way to the obtaining of pardon. Then," (ſaid he,) "theſe children and wives of yours, and all the *Ar*-"*menians* preſent, are apprized of all that you have "done; and if they perceive that you ſay things "contrary to what has paſſed, they will think, if I "diſcover the truth, that you condemn yourſelf to "the extremity of puniſhment." — "Aſk me, (ſaid he,) "*Cyrus*, what you will, as being reſolved to tell "you truth, happen what will in conſequence of it." — "Tell me, then, (ſaid he,) did you, ſome time "ago, make war with *Aſtyages*, my mother's father, "and with the reſt of the *Medes*?" — "I did, (ſaid he.) "And when you were conquered by him, did "you agree that you would pay him tribute? that "you would join your forces to his, wherever he "ſhould direct, and that you would have no fortifi-"cations?" — "Theſe things were as you ſay." — "Now, therefore, why have you neither brought "your tribute, nor ſent your forces, but were build-

"ing

"ing you fortifications?" He replied, "I was de-
"sirous of liberty, for I thought it a noble thing
"both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my
"children?" — "It is, indeed, noble, (said *Cyrus*,) to
"fight, in order not to be made a slave; but if a man
"be conquered in war, or by any other means be re-
"duced to servitude, and be found attempting to
"throw off his masters, do you yourself first pro-
"nounce whether you reward and honour such a one
"as an honest man, and as one that does noble
"things? or, if you take him, do you punish him as
"one that acts unjustly?" — "I punish him, (said
he;) "you do not suffer me to falsify." — "Tell
"me, therefore, plainly, (said *Cyrus*,) and in particu-
"lar thus; If a man be a governor and transgress,
"do you suffer him to continue in his government,
"or do you constitute another in his stead?" "I
"constitute another," (said he.) "If he is master
"of great riches, do you suffer him to continue
"rich, or do you reduce him to poverty?" "I
"take from him (said he) all that he has." "If
"you find him revolting to the enemy, what do
"you do?" "I put him to death, (said he;) for
"why should I die convicted of falshood, rather
"than die telling the truth?"

HERE his son, as soon as he heard these things, threw off his turban and rent his cloaths! The women set up a lamentable cry, and tore themselves as if their father were expired, and themselves lost and undone! — *Cyrus* bid them be silent, and again spoke.

" Be it ſo, *Armenian*, that theſe determinations of " yours are juſt, what do you adviſe us to do upon " it?" The *Armenian* was ſilent, being at a loſs whether he ſhould adviſe *Cyrus* to put him to death, or direct him to act juſt contrary to what he had ſaid he would do himſelf.

His ſon *Tygranes* then aſked *Cyrus*, " Tell me, (ſaid he,) " *Cyrus*, ſince my father ſeems to be at a " loſs, whether I ſhall adviſe you what I think beſt " for you to do in this caſe?" And *Cyrus*, well remembring that when *Tygranes* uſed to hunt with him, there was a certain ſage very converſant with him, and much admired by him, was very deſirous to hear what he would ſay, and joyfully bid him ſpeak his opinion: " Then, (ſaid *Tygranes*,) if you approve " all the meaſures that my father has concerted, and " all that he has done, I adviſe you by all means to " imitate him: But if you are of opinion that he " has tranſgreſſed in all, my advice is, that you " ſhould not imitate him." " Then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " by doing juſtice I ſhall be the fartheſt from an " imitation of the perſon tranſgreſſing." " It is ſo," ſaid he. " According to your own reaſoning, then, " your father ſhould be puniſhed, if it be juſt to " puniſh one who acts unjuſtly." " But whether do " you think it beſt, *Cyrus*, to inflict your puniſh- " ments for your own advantage, or to your own " prejudice?" " Why this way (ſaid he) I ſhould " puniſh myſelf." " And truly you would be highly " puniſhed, ſaid *Tygranes*, if you put to death thoſe

" that

" that belonged to you, at the time that they would
" be of the greateſt ſervice to you to preſerve."
" But how (ſaid *Cyrus*) can men be ſo highly ſervice-
" able and uſeful, when found to have acted un-
" juſtly?" " Why truly, if they become conſiderate
" and humble. For in my judgment, *Cyrus*, things
" ſtand thus:—There is no virtue uſeful and pro-
" fitable, without a diſcreet and ſober ſenſe of things.
" For (ſaid he) what uſe can be made of a man, who
" has ſtrength and bravery without diſcretion and
" modeſty? What uſe of one ſkilled in horſeman-
" ſhip, or of one abounding in riches, or powerful
" in his country? But with diſcretion and modeſty
" every friend is uſeful, and every ſervant good."—
" This, therefore, (ſaid he,) you aſſert; that your
" father, from inſolent and haughty, is become diſ-
" creet and humble in this one day's time?" " I do,"
ſaid he. " Then this diſcreet and modeſt ſtate of
" mind, you pronounce to be a paſſion of the ſoul,
" as grief is; and not a matter of knowledge and
" ſcience: For if it be neceſſary, that he who be-
" comes diſcreet and modeſt ſhould be wiſe and
" knowing, he cannot then, from inſolent and
" haughty, become, in an inſtant, diſcreet and mo-
" deſt." " But, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) did you never obſerve
" a man, out of pride and inſolence, attempt fight-
" ing with another more powerful than himſelf, and
" when conquered, preſently fall from that inſolence?
" Again, (ſaid he,) have you never ſeen one city en-
" gaged in war with another, and when conquered,

" immediately, by this means, become willing to
" obey, inſtead of continuing the war?" " And what
" conqueſt over your father, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) is this you
" ſpeak of, and that thus forcibly brings him to a
" diſcreet and humble ſenſe of things?" " Why
" truly, the being conſcious to himſelf, that while
" he has affected liberty, he has become yet more
" a ſlave than ever; and that of all the things he
" thought to have effected, by privacy, by artifice,
" or by force, he has not been able to effect one;
" but has ſeen you deceive him in every thing you
" intended to deceive him in, as effectually as one
" might deceive the blind, or the deaf, or men of no
" underſtanding at all; he knows you have kept
" yourſelf ſo concealed from him, where you thought
" it proper ſo to do, that the places he thought the
" moſt ſecure to him, theſe by concealed preparations
" you have made yourſelf maſter of; and you have ſo
" far exceeded him in diſpatch, that you are come
" upon him with a very conſiderable army from afar,
" before he had aſſembled his forces, that were juſt
" at hand." " Are you of opinion, then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,)
" that ſuch a conqueſt is ſufficient to give men ſo
" much conſideration and modeſty, as to think
" others better than themſelves?" " Much more,
(ſaid *Tygranes*,) " than if a man were conquered in
" fight; for he who is ſubdued by force, may think,
" that by exerciſing his body he may be enabled to
" renew the combat; and cities that have been
" taken, imagine, that by gaining allies they may re-

" new

" new the war: But men often voluntarily ſubmit " to thoſe whom they judge better than themſelves, " though under no neceſſity of doing it." " You " ſeem (ſaid he) not to be of opinion, that the proud " and inſolent can have any ſenſe that there are any " more modeſt and conſiderate than themſelves; or " thieves, that there are any who are not thieves; " or falſe men, that there are any obſervers of truth; " or unjuſt men, that there are any who act with juſ- " tice. Do not you know, (ſaid he,) that your fa- " ther has at this time dealt falſly, and not ſtood to " his agreements with us, though he knew very well " that we had not tranſgreſſed in any ſort what *Aſty-* " *ages* had ſtipulated?" " Nor do I ſay, that the " knowledge alone, of others being better than our- " ourſelves, makes men conſiderate and modeſt, un- " leſs they receive puniſhment at the hands of thoſe " their betters, as my father now has done."—" But " your father (ſaid *Cyrus*) has yet ſuffered no ſort of " ill: I know very well that he is afraid indeed of " the higheſt puniſhments." " Do you think, there- " fore, (ſaid *Tygranes*,) that any thing oppreſſes men " more than violent fear? Do not you know, that " they who are oppreſſed by the ſword, which is " reckoned the ſevereſt correction, will recur again " to arms againſt the ſame enemy; but thoſe that " they are thoroughly afraid of, they are not able ſo " much as to look at, when they do confer with " them?" " Do you ſay, (ſaid he,) that fear is a " heavier puniſhment upon men than real misfor- " tune?"

" tune?" You know yourſelf, (ſaid he,) that what
" I ſay is true; you know, that they who are in
" fear of being baniſhed their country, or that are
" in dread of being beaten in an engagement ap-
" proaching, are in a moſt dejected condition. They
" that are at ſea, and that dread ſhipwreck, and they
" that fear ſervitude and chains, are neither able to
" eat or ſleep for their fear; but they who are al-
" ready under baniſhment, who are already con-
" quered, and already ſlaves, are often in a condition
" to eat and ſleep better than the fortunate them-
" ſelves. And how great a burthen fear is, is yet
" more evident by this, that ſome, in dread that
" death would follow their captivity, have died be-
" fore-hand by means of that dread, ſome throwing
" themſelves headlong, ſome hanging themſelves, and
" ſome dying by the ſword: So that of all things
" terrible, fear ſtrikes deepeſt into the minds of men.
" In what ſtate of mind, then, (ſaid he,) do you take
" my father to be? He who fears not only for his
" own liberty, but for mine, for that of his wife, and
" for that of all his children?"—Then *Cyrus* ſaid,
" It does not ſeem at all improbable to me, that your
" father is at this time affected in this manner; but
" it belongs to the ſame man to be inſolent and in-
" jurious in proſperity, and when broken in his for-
" tune, to be dejected and ſunk, and when re-eſta-
" bliſhed in his affairs, to become inſolent again,
" and again to create diſturbance." " Truly, *Cyrus*,
(ſaid he,) " our tranſgreſſions give you cauſe to diſ-
" truſt

" truſt us; but you are at liberty to build fortreſſes,
" to keep poſſeſſion of our places of ſtrength, and to
" take whatever other pledge you pleaſe; and yet,
(ſaid he,) " you will not find us very uneaſy under
" theſe ſufferings, for we ſhall remember that we
" ourſelves were the cauſe of them. But if by giving
" up our government to any of thoſe who are free
" from guilt, you appear diſtruſtful of us, look to it,
" leſt at the ſame time that you ſhall be a benefactor
" to them, they ſhall think you no friend. And if,
" in caution againſt their enmity, you do not impoſe
" a yoke upon them to prevent their injuries, look
" to it, that you come not under a greater neceſſity
" of reducing them to be conſiderate and humble,
" than you are now under of acting that part towards
" us." " By the gods! (ſaid he,) it is, methinks, with
" diſpleaſure, that I make uſe of ſuch ſervants as I
" know ſerve me by neceſſity and force; but thoſe
" that I judge to act their parts in concert with me,
" out of friendſhip and good will, theſe, I think, I
" can more eaſily bear with when they tranſgreſs, than
" with thoſe that hate me, and who by force diſcharge
" their duty the moſt compleatly." *Tygranes* to this
ſaid, " And with whom can you acquire ſo great a
" friendſhip as you may with us?" " With thoſe, as
" I take it, who have never been ſo much at enmity
" with us, provided I ſhould be that friend and be-
" nefactor to them, that you now deſire me to be
" to you."—" And can you poſſibly find, *Cyrus*,
(ſaid he,) " at this time, any one whom it is in your

"power to gratify in ſo high a degree as you may
"my father? Firſt, (ſaid he,) if you grant their lives
"to thoſe who never did you any injury, what
"thanks will they pay you for it, think you? If
"you leave a man his wife and children, who can
"have greater friendſhip for you, upon this ſcore,
"than he who thinks they may be juſtly taken from
"him? Do you know any one that will be more
"afflicted than ourſelves, if the kingdom of *Armenia*
"be not given them?—And it is evident, that he
"who is moſt afflicted that he is not king, when he
"receives the regal power, will be the moſt grateful
"to you for it. And in caſe (ſaid he) you are any
"ways concerned that things ſhould be left here in
"the leaſt confuſion and diſorder, when you quit us,
"conſider whether things are likely to be upon a
"quieter foot under a new government, than if the
"old-accuſtomed government continue. If it be of
"any concern to you to draw from hence the greateſt
"number of forces poſſible, who do you think will
"levy them better, than he who has often made
"uſe of them? And if you want money, who do
"you reckon will better raiſe it, than he who knows
"all, and is in poſſeſſion of all? Good *Cyrus*, (ſaid
he,) "be careful, leſt, by rejecting us, you do your-
"ſelf more miſchief than my father has been able
"to do you." To this effect he ſpoke.

AND *Cyrus* was extremely pleaſed to hear him, thinking that he ſhould be able to effect all that he had promiſed *Cyaxares* to do; for he remembered to

have

have told him, that he thought he ſhould make the *Armenian* yet more his friend than before. Upon this, then, he enquired thus of the *Armenian*: "And "if I comply with you in theſe things, tell me, (ſaid he,) "what force will you ſend with me, and what "money will you contribute to the war?" To this the *Armenian* ſaid: "*Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) I have no reply "to make more plain, or more juſt, than to expoſe "to you all the forces I have, that, viewing the "whole, you may take with you whatever you will, "and leave what you will for the guard of the coun- "try. In like manner, with reſpect to our riches, it "is but juſt that I ſhould diſcover to you all that I "have, that, being apprized of all, you may carry off "what you will of it, and leave what you pleaſe of "it." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "Proceed, then, and ſhew "me what forces you have, and tell me what your "riches amount to." Here the *Armenian* replied: "The horſe of the *Armenians* are eight thouſand, and "their foot forty thouſand. Our riches, including "the treaſure my father left, and reckoned in money, "amount to more than three thouſand talents." Then *Cyrus*, without heſitation, ſaid: "Since, there- "fore, (ſaid he,) the *Chaldæans* that border upon you "are at war with you, ſend with me half of your "forces; and of your treaſure, inſtead of fifty talents, "which was the tribute you were to pay, give *Cya-* "*xares* double that ſum, for your defect in the pay- "ment. Then lend me, (ſaid he,) an hundred more, "and I promiſe you, that, if God enable me, I will,

"in

" in return of what you lend me, either do you ſuch
" ſervices as ſhall be of greater value, or, if I am not
" able, will count you down the money again; if I am
" not able to do it, I may then appear unable; but
" unjuſt I cannot be juſtly accounted." Then the *Armenian* ſaid, "I conjure you by the gods, *Cyrus*,
" not to talk in that manner, if you do, you will af-
" flict me; but rather reckon, (ſaid he,) that what
" you leave behind is not leſs yours than what you
" carry off with you."—"Be it ſo, (ſaid *Cyrus*;) but
" to have your wife again, what money will you give
" me?"—"All that I am able," (ſaid he.)—"What
" for your children?"—"And for theſe, too, (ſaid
he,) "all that I am able."—"Here is, then, (ſaid
Cyrus,) "already as much gain as you have."—"And
" you, *Tygranes*, (ſaid he,) at what rate would you
" purchaſe the regaining of your wife?" (Now he happened to be but lately married, and had a very great love for his wife.) "*Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) to ſave
" her from ſervitude, I would ranſom her at the ex-
" pence of my life."—"Take, then, your own to
" yourſelf, (ſaid he;) I cannot reckon that ſhe is pro-
" perly our captive, for you never fled from us.
" And do you, *Armenian*, take your wife and chil-
" dren, without paying any thing for them, that they
" may know they come free to you.—And now, (ſaid
he,) "pray take a ſupper with us, and, when that is
" over, go your ways wherever you pleaſe." So they ſtayed.

WHILE

WHILE they were together in the tent, *Cyrus* enquired thus: "Tell me, (ſaid he,) *Tygranes*, where is "that man that uſed to hunt with us, and that you "ſeemed much to admire?"—"Oh! (ſaid he,) and "has not this father of mine put him to death!"—"And what crime did he diſcover him committing?" "He ſaid that he corrupted me; and yet, *Cyrus*, ſo "good and ſo excellent a man he was, that when he "was going to die, he ſent for me, and told me, "*Tygranes*, (ſaid he,) do not you bear ill will to your "father for putting me to death, for he does it not "out of malice, but out of ignorance; and whatever "errors men fall into by ignorance, I reckon all ſuch "involuntary." *Cyrus*, upon this, ſaid, "Alas! "good man." The *Armenian* then ſpoke thus: "They, *Cyrus*, who find ſtrangers engaged in familiar "commerce with their wives, do not put them to "death, and charge them as endeavouring to make "their wives more diſcreet and modeſt; but they "are of opinion that theſe men deſtroy that affection "and love their wives have for them, and for this "reaſon they treat them as enemies. And I, (ſaid he,) "bore hatred and ill-will to this man, becauſe I "thought he made my ſon reſpect and admire him "more than myſelf." *Cyrus* then ſaid; "By the "gods, (ſaid he,) *Armenian*, I think you faulty, but "in ſuch a manner as human nature is often liable to "be. And do you, *Tygranes*, forgive your father." —Having at that time diſcourſed in this manner, and having treated each other with great kindneſs and friend-

friendſhip, as is natural upon a reconciliation, they mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away well pleaſed.

When they came home, one talked of *Cyrus*'s wiſdom, another of his patience and reſolution, another of his mildneſs: one ſpoke of his beauty, and the tallneſs of his perſon; and upon that *Tygranes* aſked his wife, "And do you, (ſaid he,) *Armenian* "dame, think *Cyrus* handſome?" — "Truly, (ſaid ſhe,) "I did not look at him."—"At whom, then, "did you look?" ſaid *Tygranes*. "At him who ſaid, "that, *to ſave me from ſervitude, he would ranſom me* "*at the expence of his own life.*" And after ſome entertainment of this kind, as was uſual, they went together to reſt.

The next day the *Armenians* ſent preſents of friendſhip to *Cyrus*, and to the whole army; he ſent orders to thoſe of his people that were to ſerve in this expedition, to attend on the third day, and he paid down double the ſum of money that *Cyrus* had mentioned. *Cyrus*, accepting the ſum he had expreſſed, ſent the reſt back, and aſked, "Which of them would "command the army, whether his ſon, or himſelf?" They both ſpoke together, and the father ſaid, "Either of us that you ſhall order." The ſon ſaid, "I aſſure you, *Cyrus*, that I will not leave you, "though I ſerve in the army as a porter." *Cyrus*, laughing at this, ſaid, "What would one give, (ſaid he,) "that your wife heard you were to carry bag-"gage?" — "There is no need, (ſaid he,) that ſhe

"ſhould

"ſhould hear, for I will carry her with me, and, by "that means, ſhe may ſee what I do." — "But it is "full time, (ſaid he,) that you had all things ready to "attend us." — "Count upon it, (ſaid he,) that we "will be preſent at the time, with all things ready "that my father affords us." When the ſoldiers had been all thus entertained, and treated as friends, they went to reſt.

THE next day, *Cyrus*, taking *Tygranes* with him, and the beſt of the *Median* horſe, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, marched round, viewing the country, and examining where to build a fortreſs. When they came to a certain eminence, he aſked *Tygranes*, "Which were "the mountains from whence the *Chaldæans* made "their incurſions to plunder the country?" *Tygranes* ſhewed them to him. He then enquired again, "And are theſe mountains entirely deſert?"—"No, "truly, (ſaid he,) but they have always certain ſcouts "there, who give notice to the reſt, of whatever they "obſerve."—"And what do they do, (ſaid he,) when "they have this notice?" — "They all then run to "the eminences, to defend themſelves, every one as "faſt as he can." *Cyrus* gave attention to theſe things, and, viewing around, he obſerved a great part of the *Armenian* territory to be deſert and uncultivated, by reaſon of the war. They then retired to the camp, and, taking their ſupper, went to reſt.

The next day *Tygranes*, with all things ready provided, joined him; having four thouſand horſe, ten

thouſand

thouſand archers, and as many targeteers with him. *Cyrus*, at the time they joined him, made a ſacrifice. When the victims appeared to portend things fortunate and happy, he ſummoned the leaders of the *Perſians* and *Medes*; and when they were together, he ſpoke to them to this effect: "Friends! thoſe mountains that we ſee, belong to the *Chaldæans*; if we "can ſeize them, and have a fortreſs upon the ſummit, "both *Armenians* and *Chaldæans* will be obliged to "act with modeſty and ſubmiſſion towards us. Our "ſacrifice promiſes us ſucceſs; and in the execution "of a deſign, nothing favours the inclinations of "men ſo much as diſpatch; if we prevent the "enemy, and gain the mountains before they "aſſemble, we may either take the ſummit en-"tirely without a blow, or ſhall have but a few "and weak enemies to deal with. Of all labours, "therefore, there is none more eaſy nor more free "from danger, than reſolutely to bear the fatigue of "diſpatch. Haſte, then, to arms! and do you, "*Medes!* march upon our left; and of you, *Arme-*"*nians!* let half march upon our right, and the "other half lead on in front before us; and do you, "the horſe! follow in the rear, exhorting us and "puſhing us up before you; and if any one acts "remiſsly, do not you ſuffer him to do ſo."

CYRUS, having ſaid this, led on; drawing the ſeveral companies into ſingle files. The *Chaldæans*, as ſoon as they perceived that their heights were going to be attacked, gave their ſignal to their people, hallooed

hallooed out to each other, and ran together. *Cyrus* then gave out orders in this manner: "Men of *Perſia!* they give us the ſignal of diſpatch; if we "prevent them in gaining the heights, the efforts of "the enemy will be of no ſignificance." The *Chaldæans* had every one their ſhield, and two javelins; they are ſaid to be the moſt warlike people of all in that part of the world: Where they are wanted, they ſerve for hire; being a warlike people and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it fertile and rich. As *Cyrus*'s men approached the heights, *Tygranes* marching with *Cyrus*, ſpoke to him thus: "*Cyrus!* (ſaid he,) do you know that we "muſt preſently come to action, and that the *Arme-* "*nians* will not ſtand the attack of the enemy?" *Cyrus*, telling him that he knew it, made it preſently be declared to the *Perſians*, that they ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs, as being immediately to fall on; and to purſue as ſoon as the flying *Armenians* drew the enemy down ſo as to be near them. So the *Armenians* led on. The *Chaldæans* who were upon the place, immediately, upon the approach of the *Armenians*, ſet up a cry, and, according to their cuſtom, ran upon them; the *Armenians*, according to their cuſtom, did not ſtand them. When the purſuing *Chaldæans* ſaw ſwordſmen fronting them and marching up, they ſome of them came up cloſe, and were preſently killed, ſome fled, and ſome were taken, and the heights were immediately gained. As ſoon as *Cyrus*'s men had gained the heights, they

ſaw

saw the habitations of the *Chaldæans*, and perceived them flying from such of those habitations as were near. *Cyrus*, as soon as the army was got together, ordered them to dinner. When dinner was over, having got information of the places where the *Chaldæans* planted their watch, he undertook the building of a fortress that was very strong, and well supplied with water. He ordered *Tygranes* to send to his father, and bid him come away with all the carpenters and builders he could get; the messenger went his way to the *Armenian*; *Cyrus* applied himself to the building with all the workmen he had at that time with him.

MEAN while they brought *Cyrus* the prisoners, some bound and some wounded. As soon as he saw them, he ordered those that were bound to be loosed; and sending for thy physicians, he ordered them to take care of the wounded. He then told the *Chaldæans*, that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with inclination to make war upon them; but with intention to make peace between the *Armenians* and *Chaldæans*. "Before we "got possession of your mountains, I know you had "no desire of peace: your own concerns were in "safety; the effects of the *Armenians* you plundered "at your pleasure. But now you see the condition "you are in. Those of you, therefore, that have "been taken, I dismiss to your homes, and allow "you, together with the rest of the *Chaldæans*, to "consult amongst yourselves, whether you incline to

"make

"make war with us, or to be our friends: if war be "your choice, come no more hither without arms, "if you are wiſe; if you think peace for your turn, "come without arms. And if you are friends, it "ſhall be my care, that your affairs ſhall be eſta-"bliſhed upon the beſt foot." The *Chaldæans* having heard theſe things, after many praiſes beſtowed upon *Cyrus*, and many aſſurances of friendſhip and truſt given him, went home.

THE *Armenian*, as ſoon as he heard what *Cyrus* had done, and the requeſt he had made him, took carpenters with him, and all things elſe, that he thought neceſſary, and came to *Cyrus* with all poſſible diſpatch. As ſoon as he ſaw *Cyrus*, he ſaid to him, "O *Cyrus!* how few things in futurity are men able "to foreſee! and how many projects do we under-"take! I have endeavoured upon this occaſion to "obtain liberty; and I became more a ſlave than "ever: and after having been made captive, and "thinking our deſtruction certain, we now again "appear to be in a condition of greater ſafety and "ſecurity than ever. For theſe men never ceaſed "doing us all manner of miſchief; and I now find "them juſt in the condition I wiſhed. And be it "known to you, (ſaid he,) *Cyrus!* that to have ſo driven "the *Chaldæans* from theſe heights, I would have "given many times the money you received from "me. And the ſervices you promiſed to do us, "when you took the money, you have now ſo fully "performed, that we appear to be brought under

" new obligations to you, which, if we are not very
" ill men, we ſhall be aſhamed not to diſcharge; and
" whatever returns we make, we ſhall not be found
" to have done ſo much as ſuch a benefactor de-
" ſerves." Thus ſpoke the *Armenian.*

THE *Chaldæans* came back, begging of *Cyrus* to make peace with them. Then *Cyrus* aſked them, " *Chaldæans,* (ſaid he,) is it upon any other conſider-
" tion that you deſire peace, or is it only becauſe
" you think you ſhall live with more ſecurity in
" peace, than if you continue the war, ſince we
" ourſelves told you ſo?" — " We have other con-
" ſiderations," (ſaid the *Chaldæans.*) " And what, (ſaid he,) " if there are ſtill other advantages that
" may accrue to you by peace?" — " We ſhall be ſtill
" the more pleaſed," (ſaid they.) — " Do you think,
" therefore, (ſaid he,) that your being a poor and
" needy people, is cauſed by any thing elſe but by
" the want of good land?" They agreed with him in this. " Well then! (ſaid *Cyrus,*) would you
" willingly be at liberty to cultivate as much of the
" *Armenian* territory as you pleaſed, paying the
" ſame for it that the *Armenians* do?" — " Yes, (ſaid they,) " if we could be ſecure that we ſhould
" not be injured." — " What ſay you then, *Armenian,* (ſaid he,) " would you be willing to have your
" waſte land cultivated, upon terms that the
" farmers of it ſhall pay you the ſettled dues? The *Armenian* ſaid, " He would give a great deal to have
" it ſo; for his revenue would be much improved
" by

" by it. And you, (ſaid he,) *Chaldæans*, ſince you " have mountains that are fertile, would you conſent " that the *Armenians* ſhould uſe them for paſture, upon " condition that they who make uſe of them, ſhall pay " what is juſt and reaſonable?" The *Chaldæans* ſaid, " That they would; for it would be a conſi- " derable profit to them without any labour."— " And you, *Armenian*, (ſaid he,) would you make " uſe of the paſtures of theſe men, if, by allowing " a ſmall profit to the *Chaldæans*, you might make " a much greater profit by it yourſelves?"—" Rea- " dily, (ſaid he,) if I thought I might do it ſecurely." " And ſecurely you might do it, (ſaid he,) if the " ſummits were in the hands of your friends." The *Armenian* agreed. " But truly, (ſaid the *Chaldæans*,) " we ſhould not be able to cultivate ſecurely, neither " the lands of theſe people, nor our own, if they are " in poſſeſſion of the ſummits." — " But ſuppoſe, (ſaid he,) " the ſummits are poſſeſſed by ſuch as are " friends to you."— " Thus indeed, (ſaid they,) " things might do very well." — " But, indeed, (ſaid the *Armenian*,) " things will not be well with us, if " theſe men come to be again poſſeſſed of the ſum- " mits; eſpecially when they are fortified." — Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " Thus therefore I will do; I " will give up the ſummits to neither of you, but " we will keep them ourſelves; and if either of you " injure the other, we will take part with the in- jured." When they heard this, they both of them gave their applauſe, and ſaid, " Thus only can the

"peace be firm and ſtable."—Upon this they gave and received mutually aſſurances of friendſhip and truſt, and ſtipulated to be both of them free and independent of each other, to intermarry, to cultivate, and feed each others lands reciprocally, and to be common allies and ſupport to each other againſt whoſoever ſhould injure either of them. Thus were theſe matters then tranſacted. And theſe agreements, then made between the *Chaldæans* and the poſſeſſor of *Armenia*, ſubſiſt ſtill to this day. When the agreements were made, they both preſently applied themſelves with zeal to the building of this fortreſs as a common guard; and they jointly furniſhed all things neceſſary towards it.

When evening came on, he took both parties to ſup with him, as being now friends. As they were at ſupper, one of the *Chaldæans* ſaid, "That theſe "things were ſuch as all the reſt of them wiſhed for; "but that there were ſome of the *Chaldæans* who lived "by plunder, and who neither knew how to apply "themſelves to work, nor were able to do it, being "accuſtomed to live by war; for they were always em-"ployed upon plunder, or hired out upon ſome ſer-"vice; frequently to the king of the *Indians*, for he "is one, (ſaid they,) that abounds in gold; and fre-"quently to *Aſtyages*." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "And "why do not they engage themſelves to me? for I "will give them as much as any other ever "gave." They conſented, and ſaid, "That "there would be a great many that would willing-"ly

"ly engage in his ſervice." Theſe things were accordingly agreed.

CYRUS, as ſoon as he heard that the *Chaldæans* frequently went to ſerve under the *Indian*, and remembering that there were certain perſons that came from him to the *Medes* to apprize themſelves of the *Median* affairs, and went thence to the enemy to get an inſight likewiſe into their affairs, he was deſirous that the *Indian* ſhould be informed of what he had done. He therefore began a diſcourſe to this effect: "Tell me, (ſaid he,) *Armenian*, and you *Chaldæans*, "if I ſhould ſend one of my people to the *Indian*, "would you ſend with him ſome of yours who "ſhould direct him in his way, and act in concert "with him, to obtain from the *Indian* the things that I "deſire? for I would procure ſome further addition "to my treaſure, that I may have what will fully "ſuffice, to diſcharge the pay of thoſe to whom it "becomes due, and to honour and reward ſuch of "my fellow-ſoldiers as are deſerving. Upon theſe "accounts I would have plenty of treaſure; I think "I want it; and to ſpare you would be a pleaſure to "me; (for I now reckon you our friends.) But "from the *Indian* I would gladly accept of ſome-"thing if he would give it me. The meſſenger, "therefore, that I deſire you to give guides and "aſſiſtants to, when he gets thither, ſhall ſay thus:— "Prince of *India! Cyrus* has ſent me to you; he "ſays that he is in want of money, expecting ano-"ther army from *Perſia*; (and in reality I do expect

"it, (ſaid he;) if you ſend him therefore as much as
"you can conveniently, he aſſures you that, if God
"gives a happy iſſue to his affairs, he will do his
"endeavours to make you think that you have
"taken a happy ſtep in gratifying him.—This he
"ſhall ſay from me. Do you, on the other ſide,
"ſend him word by your people, that you think it
"will be of advantage to you. And if we get any
"thing from him, (ſaid he,) we ſhall have all things
"in greater plenty; if we get nothing, we ſhall know
"that we owe him no thanks, and that as to him
"we ſhall be at liberty to regulate all our affairs as
"beſt ſuits our own intereſts."—Thus ſaid *Cyrus*,
counting upon it that thoſe of the *Armenians* and
Chaldæans, that went upon this meſſage, would ſay
ſuch things of him, as he himſelf deſired all men
ſhould ſay and hear concerning him. Then at the pro-
per time they broke up the company in the tent, and
went to reſt.

THE next day *Cyrus* ſent away his meſſenger,
charging him with all that he had before expreſſed.
The *Armenian* and the *Chaldæans* ſent with him ſuch
men as they judged moſt proper to act in concert
with him, and to relate ſuch things concerning *Cyrus*
as were juſt and worthy of him.

AFTER this, *Cyrus*, having ſupplied the fortreſs
with a ſufficient garriſon, and with all things ne-
ceſſary, and leaving as governor a certain *Mede*,
one that he judged would be moſt agreeable to
Cyaxares, marched away; taking with him both the
army that he came with, and that which he had
from

from the *Armenians*, as well as the men he had from the *Chaldæans*, who amounted to about four thouſand, and thought themſelves better than all the reſt.

WHEN he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the *Armenians*, neither man nor woman, kept within doors; but all went out and met him, being overjoyed at the peace, and running out with whatever they had of greateſt value. The *Armenian* was not at all uneaſy at theſe things; thinking that *Cyrus*, by means of the honours that were thus paid him by all, would be the better pleaſed. At laſt likewiſe the wife of the *Armenian* met him, having her daughters with her, and her younger ſon; and, together with other preſents, ſhe brought that treaſure that *Cyrus* had before refuſed. *Cyrus*, when he ſaw her, ſaid, "Ye ſhall not make me ſuch a ſort of "a man as to run up and down the world beſtowing "my ſervices for money! Go your ways, woman, "and keep all this treaſure that you bring, and do "not give it to the *Armenian* again to bury; but "equip your ſon with it in the handſomeſt manner, "and ſend him to the war; and out of the remainder, "ſupply yourſelf, your huſband, your daughters, "and your ſons with every thing whether for uſe or "ornament, that may make you paſs your days in "the moſt agreeable and handſome manner; let it "ſuffice us to lay our bodies under ground, every "one of us when we die."—Having ſaid this, he marched on; the *Armenian* attended upon him, as

all the reſt likewiſe did; calling him aloud, "Their "benefactor and an excellent man!" Thus they did, till they had conducted him out of their territory. The *Armenian* ſent a greater force with him, being now at peace at home. So *Cyrus* went away, not only enriched with the treaſure he had received, but, by means of his conduct, he had laid up a much greater ſtore, and could ſupply himſelf whenever he wanted. They then encamped upon the borders. The next day he ſent the army and treaſure to *Cyaxares*, who was at hand, as he had ſaid he would be. He, with *Tygranes*, and the principal *Perſians*, hunted where they met with game, and diverted themſelves.

WHEN he came into *Media*, he diſtributed money to his centurions, as much as he thought ſufficient for each of them, and that they might have wherewithal to reward ſuch of their men under them, as they might happen to be particularly pleaſed with. For he thought, that if every one rendered his part of the army praiſe-worthy, the whole would be ſet right to his hands. And if he any where obſerved any thing that might contribute to the beauty of the army, he purchaſed it, and gave it to the moſt deſerving; reckoning that whatever his men were poſſeſſed of, that was beautiful and noble, it was all an ornament to himſelf.

WHEN he had made a diſtribution amongſt them out of what he had received, then, in an aſſembly of centurions, captains, and all others that he particularly

larly eſteemed, he ſpoke to this effect: "Friends! "a particular pleaſure and ſatisfaction ſeems now to "attend us, both becauſe we have plenty, and that "we are in poſſeſſion of what enables us to beſtow "rewards where we deſire, and to be rewarded every "one according to his merit. But then we ought by "all means to remember what the things are that have "procured us theſe advantages; and upon exami- "nation, you will find them to be theſe. Our being "watchful upon the proper occaſions, our being "laborious, our diſpatch, and our not giving way "to the enemy. It is our part, therefore, to con- "tinue thus brave men for the future; determining "with ourſelves, that obedience and reſolution, la- "bours, and hazard, upon the proper occaſions, are "things that produce great pleaſures and great ad- "vantages."

BUT *Cyrus*, conſidering how well the bodies of his men ſtood with reſpect to their being able to undergo all military labours; how well their minds were diſpoſed with reſpect to contempt of the enemy; how ſkilful they were in all things fitting, each in their ſeveral ſorts of arms; and he ſaw that they were all well diſpoſed with reſpect to obedience to their commanders; from all this therefore he now deſired to come to action with the enemy; knowing that by delay ſome part or other of a noble preparation comes to change and fail in the commander's hands. And beſides, obſerving that, from a contention in things wherein men are ambitious to exceed,

exceed, the ſoldiers had contracted envy and ill-will to each other, he was, for this reaſon, deſirous to lead them, as ſoon as poſſible, out into the enemy's country; knowing, that common dangers make friends, and fellow-combatants keep in a friendly diſpoſition one towards another; and that in this circumſtance they neither envy thoſe that are finely armed, nor thoſe that are ambitious of glory; but that even ſuch men themſelves rather applaud and eſteem others that are like them, accounting them their fellow-labourers in the publick ſervice. So, in the firſt place, he compleatly armed them all, and formed them into the beſt and moſt beautiful order that was poſſible. He then ſummoned the commanders of ten thouſands, the commanders of thouſands, the centurions, and captains, (for theſe were exempt from being reckoned of the number of thoſe that conſtituted the military rank. And when they were to execute any orders from the commander in chief, or to tranſmit any particular directions to others; yet thus there was nothing left confuſed and without rule; but the remainder of the men were preſerved in order by the commanders of twelves and ſixes.) When the proper perſons were aſſembled, he conducted them about with him, and ſhewed them all that was right and in proper order; and taught them in what conſiſted the ſtrength of every ally. And when he had raiſed in theſe men a deſire of doing ſomething, he bid them go to their ſeveral diſtinct bodies, teach them what he had taught themſelves,

and

and endeavour to inſpire them all with a deſire of action, that they might ſet forward with all poſſible ardour; and he bid them, in the morning, attend at *Cyaxares*'s door. They then retired, and did as they were ordered.

THE next morning, as ſoon as it was day, the proper perſons attended at the doors; and *Cyrus*, entering in with them to *Cyaxares*, began a diſcourſe to this effect: "I know, *Cyaxares*, (ſaid he,) that "what I am going to ſay is not leſs your opinion "than it is our own; but perhaps you may be un- "willing to expreſs it, leſt you ſhould ſeem to put "us in mind of marching away, as if the maintaining "us were burthenſome and uneaſy to you: There- "fore, ſince you are ſilent, I will ſpeak both for "you and for ourſelves.—Since we are prepared "and ready, it is the opinion of us all not to delay "engaging the enemy till after they have broken in "upon your country; and not to ſit down and wait "here in the territory of our friends, but to march "with all poſſible diſpatch into the enemy's country. "For now that we are here in your territory, we are "forced againſt our wills to injure you many ways. "But if we march into the enemy's country, we "ſhall with pleaſure do them miſchief. Then it is "you that now maintain us, and at a great expence. "If we carry the war abroad, we ſhall be maintained "upon the enemy's country. But then, indeed, if "our danger was to be greater there than it is here, "perhaps the ſafeſt courſe ſhould be taken; but

"they

" they will be the ſame men, whether we wait here
" for them, or march into their own country and
" meet them; and we ſhall be the ſame, whether
" we receive them here as they come upon us, or
" march up to them and attack them. But we ſhall
" have the minds of our men in better condition,
" and more animated, if we march to the enemy,
" and ſeem not to get ſight of them againſt our
" wills. They will have a much greater terror of
" us, when they ſhall hear that we do not ſit at home
" in dread, and terrified with them; but that as ſoon as
" we perceive them advancing, we march and meet
" them, in order to cloſe with them as ſoon as
" poſſible; and that we do not wait till our own
" country is diſtreſſed by them, but that we prevent
" them, and lay their lands waſte; and then, (ſaid he,)
" if we ſtrike terror into them, and raiſe courage in
" ourſelves, I take this to be a very great advantage
" to us. Thus I reckon the danger to be much
" leſs to us, and much greater to the enemy. And
" my father always ſays, you yourſelf ſay, and all
" others agree, that battles are decided rather by the
" courage and ſpirits of men, than by the ſtrength of
" their bodies."—Thus he ſpoke, and *Cyaxares* re-
plied, " O *Cyrus!* and you the reſt of the *Perſians!*
" Do not imagine that the maintaining you is bur-
" theſome and uneaſy to me: But indeed, the
" marching into the enemy's country ſeems now to
" me to be the better courſe."—" Since, therefore,
(ſaid *Cyrus*,) " we agree in opinion, let us make all

" things

" things ready, and if our ſacred rites ſignify the " approbation of the gods, let us depart as ſoon as " poſſible."

Upon this, giving orders to the ſoldiers to make all things ready, *Cyrus* made a ſacrifice, firſt to REGAL JOVE, then to the other DEITIES; and prayed, that they would vouchſafe to be conductors to the army, good and gracious aſſiſtants and friends, and direct them in all happy courſes: He invoked likewiſe the HEROES, inhabitants and guardians of the land of *MEDIA*. When he had ſacrificed happily, and the whole army was formed upon the borders, meeting with happy auguries, he fell into the enemy's country. As ſoon as he had paſſed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the EARTH by libations, and to the GODS by ſacrifice; and implored the favour of the HEROES inhabitants of *ASSYRIA*. And having done this, he again ſacrificed to PATERNAL JOVE; and whatever other DEITY occurred to him, he neglected none.

WHEN theſe things were duly performed, making the foot advance at a ſmall diſtance forward, they encamped; and making excurſions around with the the horſe, they furniſhed themſelves with great quantities of all kinds of booty. Then changing their encampments, and being provided with all things neceſſary in abundance, and laying the country waſte, they waited for the enemy. When they were ſaid to be advancing, and not to be at the diſtance of above two days march, then *Cyrus* ſaid, " Now, *Cyaxares*,

" is

" is the time for us to march and meet them, and not " to appear, either to the enemy or to our own peo- " ple, afraid of advancing againſt them; but let us " make it evident, that we do not come to a battle " with them againſt our wills."—When *Cyaxares* had agreed, they advanced towards the enemy, keeping always in order, and marching each day as far as they thought it proper, they took their ſupper by day-light, and made no fires in their camp by night, but made them before the front of the camp, that by means of theſe fires they might perceive if any people approached in the night, and might not be ſeen themſelves by the approachers; and they frequently made their fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy; ſo that the enemy's people, that were ſent out for intelligence, ſometimes fell in with the advanced guards, thinking themſelves to be ſtill at a diſtance from the camp, becauſe the fires were behind.

THE *Aſſyrians* then, and thoſe that attended them, as ſoon as the armies were near to each other, threw up an entrenchment round themſelves; a thing that the *Barbarian* kings practiſe to this day when they encamp; and they do it with eaſe, by means of their multitude of hands: For they know, that an army of horſe in the night is confuſed and unweildy, eſpecially if they are barbarian; for they have their horſes tied down to their mangers, and if they are attacked, it is troubleſome in the night to looſe the the horſes, to bridle them, and to put them on their

breaſt-

breaſt-plates and other furniture; and when they have mounted their horſes, it is abſolutely impoſſible to march them through the camp. Upon all theſe accounts, both they and others of them throw up an intrenchment round themſelves; and they imagine, that their being entrenched puts it in their power, as long as they pleaſe, to avoid fighting. And thus doing, they approached each other.

WHEN they were advanced to about the diſtance of a paraſang, the *Aſſyrians* encamped in the manner before expreſſed, in a poſt entrenched, but expoſed to view; *Cyrus*, in a place the moſt concealed that was poſſible, with villages and riſing grounds before him, reckoning that all things hoſtile that diſcover themſelves on a ſudden, are the more terrible to the oppoſite party; and both parties, that night, poſting advanced guards as was proper, went to reſt.

THE next day the *Aſſyrian*, and *Cræſus*, and the other leaders, gave their armies reſt in their ſtrong camp. *Cyrus* and *Cyaxares* waited in order of battle, as intending to fight if the enemy advanced. When it appeared that the enemy would not ſtir out of their entrenchment, nor come to a battle that day, *Cyaxares* ſummoned *Cyrus*, and all the other proper perſons, to him, and ſpoke to this effect: — "It is "my opinion, friend, (ſaid he,) that we ſhould march "in the order we are in, up to the entrenchment of "theſe men, and ſhew them that we are deſirous to "come to a battle, for by this means, (ſaid he,) if "they do not come out to us, our men will act with

"the

"the more courage againſt them, and the enemy, ob-
"ſerving our boldneſs, will be the more terrified."
This was his opinion. But *Cyrus* ſaid, "By the
"gods, *Cyaxares*, we muſt by no means act in this
"manner, for if we now diſcover ourſelves, and march
"as you deſire, the enemy will ſee us advancing to-
"wards them, and will be in no manner of fear of
"us, knowing themſelves to be in a ſituation ſecure
"from any danger; and after having made this
"march, when we ſhall retreat, then again, ſeeing
"our numbers much inferior to theirs, they will
"have a contempt for us, and to-morrow will march
"out with minds more firm and reſolute; but now,
(ſaid he,) "that they know we are at hand, without
"ſeeing us, be aſſured they do not contemn us, but
"are ſolicitous to know how things ſtand, and are, I
"know very well, continually taken up in debating
"about us. But when they march out, then ought
"we at once to make our appearance, march in-
"ſtantly, and cloſe with them, taking them at the
"advantage we have heretofore deſired." — *Cyrus*
having ſpoke thus, *Cyaxares*, and the reſt, agreed in
opinion with him. Then, having taken their ſup-
pers, placed their guards, and made many fires in
front before thoſe guards, they went to reſt.

THE next day, early in the morning, *Cyrus*, with a crown upon his head, made a ſacrifice, and ordered the reſt of the alike-honoured to attend the holy rites with crowns. When the ſacrifice was over, *Cyrus* called them together, and ſaid: — "The GODS,
"friends,

"friends, as the diviners ſay, and as I myſelf think,
"do foretel that there will be a battle; they give us
"victory, and promiſe us ſafety by the victims. I
"ought, perhaps, to be aſhamed to direct what ſort
"of men you ought to ſhew yourſelves upon ſuch an
"occaſion; for I know you underſtand thoſe things
"as well as I do; that you have practiſed and learnt,
"and continue to learn all the ſame things that I have
"done, ſo that you may juſtly inſtruct others in
"them: but if, perhaps, you may not have taken
"exact notice of them, pray hear.—Thoſe men that
"we have lately admitted as our fellow-combatants,
"and have endeavoured to make like ourſelves, it is
"your part to put them in mind for what purpoſes
"we are all maintained by *Cyaxares*, what the things
"are that we practiſe, and have invited them to, and
"wherein, they ſaid, they would joyfully be our ri-
"vals; and put them in mind, likewiſe, of this, that
"this day will ſhew what every one deſerves; for in
"things where men have been late learners, it is
"no wonder that ſome of them have need of a moni-
"tor. One ought to be contented if they can make
"themſelves good and uſeful men upon admonition,
"then in doing this, you will make trial of your-
"ſelves. For he that upon ſuch an occaſion is able
"to make others better men, muſt be juſtly conſcious
"of being himſelf compleatly good; but he who
"bears theſe things in mind to himſelf only, and reſts
"ſatisfied with that, ſhould in juſtice account him-
"ſelf but half compleat. The reaſon why I do not

" ſpeak to theſe men myſelf, but bid you do it, is,
" becauſe they may endeavour to pleaſe you; for you
" are immediately converſant with them, every one
" of you in his particular part; and be aſſured, that
" while you ſhew yourſelves to be in courage and
" heart, you will teach courage to theſe men, and to
" many more, not by words, but by deed." — In concluſion, he bid them go, crowned as they were, to their dinners; and, when they had performed their libations, to come crowned to their ranks.

When theſe men were gone, he ſummoned the rear-leaders to him, and ſpoke to them to this effect: "You, likewiſe, men of *Perſia*, are become
" part of the alike-honoured, and have been choſen
" as men who appear to be equal, in all other re-
" ſpects, to the braveſt, but by your age to excel in
" diſcretion; you have, therefore, a ſtation aſſigned
" you, which is not leſs honourable than that of the
" file-leaders; for, being placed in the rear, and ob-
" ſerving the brave, and encouraging them, you
" make them ſtill the better men; and if any one
" acts remiſsly, you do not ſuffer him to do ſo. If
" victory be of advantage to any, it is ſo to you, both
" by reaſon of your age, and of the weight of your mi-
" litary habit: If they therefore who are before, call
" out to you, and exhort you to follow, comply with
" them; and that you may not be outdone by them
" in this, do you exhort them, in return, to lead with
" more diſpatch to the enemy. Go, then, (ſaid he,)
" and, when you have taken your dinners, come
" crowned

"crowned with the reſt to your ranks." *Cyrus*'s men were thus employed.

THE *Aſſyrians*, when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themſelves with a great deal of reſolution. The king himſelf formed them, driving round in his chariot; and he made them an exhortation in this manner:—"Men of *Aſſyria*, now is "the time for you to be brave men, for now is your "trial for your lives, for the country where you were "born, for the houſes where you were bred, for your "wives and children, and for all things valuable that "you poſſeſs! If you conquer, you remain maſters "of all theſe as before; if you are defeated, be aſ"ſured you give them all up to the enemy; there"fore, as you value victory, ſtand firm, and fight; "for it is a folly for thoſe that deſire conqueſt, to "turn the blind, unarmed, and harmleſs parts of "their bodies to the enemy by flight. He is a fool, "who, for love of life, ſhould attempt flying, when "he knows that the conquerors are ſafe, and that "run-aways meet death more certainly than they who "ſtand their ground; and he is a fool, who, out of "love to his money, ſubmits to a defeat; for who is "there that does not know, that conquerors ſave all "that belongs to themſelves, and acquire, beſides, all "that belongs to the defeated enemy? But they who "are defeated throw both themſelves, and all that be"longs to them, away."—Thus was the *Aſſyrian* em"ployed,

But *Cyaxares* ſending to *Cyrus*, told him, "That "now was the opportunity of leading to the enemy; "for, (ſaid he,) if there are yet but few that are got "out of the entrenchment, by that time we arrive "there will be great numbers of them. Therefore "let us not wait, till they are more numerous than "ourſelves; but let us march, whilſt we think we "may yet eaſily maſter them."—*Cyrus* replied: "Unleſs thoſe, *Cyaxares!* that we ſhall defeat, amount "to above half the number of the enemy, be aſſured "they will ſay that we are afraid of their numbers, "and therefore attacked but a few of them. They "will not take themſelves to be defeated. And it "will be neceſſary for you to come to another battle, "when, perhaps, they will contrive better than they do "now; that they give themſelves up to us to parcel "out and engage as many of them as we pleaſe." The meſſengers having heard this went their way.

Upon this came *Chryſantas* the *Perſian*, and others of the alike-honoured, bringing with them certain deſerters. *Cyrus*, as uſual, required from theſe deſerters an account of the enemy. They told him that they were already marching out in arms; that the king was come out and was forming them; and that continually as they marched out, he made them many warm and vigorous exhortations, as the hearers, they ſaid reported. Here *Chryſantas* ſpoke:—"*Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) what therefore if you ſhould call "the ſoldiers together, while you are yet at liberty "to make them an exhortation, in order to make

" them braver and better men?" — Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " O, *Chryſantas*, let not the exhortations of the " *Aſſyrians* diſturb you; for no exhortation, what- " ever, though never ſo noble, can at the inſtant, " make the hearers brave, if they were not ſo before. " Nor can it make them ſkilful at the bow unleſs " they have before practiſed it; nor ſkilful at the " javelin, nor horſemen; nor can it give them bo- " dies capable of labour, unleſs they have been " before inured to it." *Chryſantas* then ſaid, " But " it is enough if you can make their minds better " by your exhortation." — " And can a word, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " ſpoken at the inſtant, inſpire the minds of " the hearers with a ſenſe of ſhame, or hinder them " from doing things mean and baſe? Can it influence " them effectually to undergo all labours, and run " all hazards to gain praiſe? Can it eſtabliſh this " ſentiment firmly in their minds, that to die fighting " is rather to be choſen than to be ſaved by flying? " And if ſuch ſentiments, (ſaid he,) are to be in- " ſtilled into men, and to be made laſting, ought " there not, in the firſt place, to be ſuch laws eſta- " bliſhed whereby a life with honour and liberty " ſhould be provided for the brave? and ſuch a " courſe of life traced out and laid before the vicious, " as ſhould be abject and painful, and not worth " living out? Then there ought to be teachers and " governors in theſe affairs, who ſhould direct men " right, ſhould teach and accuſtom them to practiſe " theſe things, till they could determine with them-

" ſelves, that the brave and the renowned are in " reality the happieſt of all; and to judge that the " vicious and the infamous are of all the moſt mi- " ſerable. For thus ought thoſe to ſtand affected, " who are to make their inſtitution and diſcipline " over-rule their fear of the enemy. But if juſt at " the time that men are marching in arms to the " enemy, when many are hurried out of all their " former learning and knowledge, it were in any " one's power by putting together a ſet form of " words, to make men in the inſtant ſoldiers, then " were it the eaſieſt thing in the world both to " learn and to teach the greateſt virtue that belongs " to men. Nor could I be ſecure that the men, we " now have, and that have been exerciſed under us, " would remain firm unleſs I ſaw you here preſent " with them, who will be examples to them in their " behaviour, and will be able to remind them, if they " are at a loſs in any thing. I ſhould very much " wonder, (ſaid he,) *Chryſantas!* if a diſcourſe never " ſo finely ſpoken ſhould be able to teach bravery " to men wholly undiſciplined in virtue, any more " than a ſong well ſung, could teach muſick to ſuch " as were wholly uninſtructed in it."—In this manner they diſcourſed.

And *Cyaxares* ſent word again to *Cyrus*, that he was much in the wrong to ſpend time, and not march immediately to the enemy. *Cyrus* made anſwer to the meſſengers: " Let him be aſſured, (ſaid he,) " that there are not yet come out ſo many of them

" as

"as there ought to be; and tell him this openly "before all; but ſince it is his opinion, I will lead "out this inſtant." — Having ſaid this, and having made his ſupplications to the *GODS*, he led the army out. As ſoon as he began to put forward with more diſpatch, he led the way, and they followed; and they did it in a very orderly manner, becauſe they underſtood how to march in order, and had been exerciſed in it; they did it with vigour and reſolution, by means of their emulation to each other, by having inured their bodies to labour, and having all their officers at the head of them; and they did it with pleaſure, becauſe they were wiſe; for they knew and had long ſince learned, that it was their ſafeſt and eaſieſt courſe, to cloſe with the enemy; eſpecially when conſiſting of archers, of men armed with javelins, and of horſes. While they were yet out of reach of the enemy's weapons, *Cyrus* gave out the word, which was this, *Jove our aſſiſtant and leader!* When the word came about to him again, he began the uſual *hymn*, to the youths of *Jove*, *Caſtor*, and *Pollux*. They all with great devotion accompanied him with a loud voice; for in ſuch a circumſtance they who fear the deities are leſs in fear of men. When the hymn was over, the alike-honoured marching with alacrity and perfect good diſcipline, and at the ſame time looked round at each other, calling by their names thoſe that were on each hand of them, and thoſe that were the next behind them, and frequently crying

out,—Come on, friends! Come on, brave men!—they exhorted each other to follow. They that were behind hearing this, exhorted the foremoſt in returning to lead on with vigour and reſolution. And *Cyrus* had an army full of ſpirit and of ardour, in the purſuit of honour; full of vigour, boldneſs, mutual exhortation, diſcretion, and obedience, which I think the moſt terrible to an enemy.

THOSE of the *Aſſyrians* who fought from their chariots in front before the reſt, as ſoon as the *Perſian* body was near and ready to cloſe in with them, mounted their chariots and retreated to their own body. Their archers and their men armed with the javelin, and their ſlingers made the diſcharge of their weapons a good while before they could reach their enemy. As ſoon as the *Perſians* came up upon theſe weapons, that had been thus diſcharged, *Cyrus* cried aloud,—"Now, my brave "men! let ſome body diſtinguiſh himſelf and march "quicker on! and tranſmit this order to the reſt!"—They accordingly tranſmitted it. And ſome, out of zeal and ardour, and out of deſire to cloſe with the enemy, began to run. The whole *Phalanx* followed running. *Cyrus* himſelf forgetting his ſlower pace, led them on running, and cried out at the ſame time,—"Who follows! who is brave! who "will firſt proſtrate his man!"—They hearing this, cried out in the ſame manner; and as he firſt gave it out, ſo it ran through them all, Who will follow? Who is brave? In this diſpoſition did the *Perſians* cloſe with the enemy.

THE

The enemy were no longer able to ſtand them, but turned, and fled to the entrenchment; the *Perſians* following up to the entrances of the intrenchment, laid many of them on the ground as they were preſſing on upon each other, and leaping in after thoſe that fell into the ditch they killed them, both men and horſes promiſcuouſly; for ſome of the chariots of the enemy were forced on in their flight, and fell in amongſt the reſt. The *Median* horſe, obſerving theſe things, charged the enemy's horſe, and they gave way before them. Then followed a purſuit both of horſes and men, and a mighty ſlaughter of both. They who were within the *Aſſyrian* entrenchment, and were poſted at the top of it, by reaſon of the dreadful ſpectacle before them, and of their terror, had neither ability nor ſkill to do execution with their arrows and javelins upon thoſe that were making deſtruction of their people. And learning preſently after, that ſome of the *Perſians* had cut their way through, at the entrances of the entrenchment, they turned away and fled from the top of it. The *Aſſyrian* women, and thoſe of their allies, ſome of them, ſuch as had children, and ſome that were of the younger ſort, ſeeing that they already began to fly in the camp, ſet up a clamour and run up and down in conſternation, rending their cloaths, and tearing themſelves, and begging of every one they met not to fly and abandon them, but to ſtand by their children, by them, and by each other. Here their princes

princes themſelves, with thoſe they chiefly confided in, ſtanding at the entrances of the entrenchment, and mounting to the top of it, fought themſelves, and encouraged the reſt. As ſoon as *Cyrus* knew how things ſtood, being afraid, leſt, being but few, they ſhould be but ill-treated by the great multitude of the enemy if they forced their way in, he gave out orders to retreat out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required their obedience in ſo doing. Here one might diſtinguiſh the alike-honoured, and ſuch as were formed to due diſcipline; for they inſtantly obeyed, and tranſmitted the orders to the reſt. When they were out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, they ſtood in their ſeveral ſtations much more regularly than a ſet of dancers; every one knowing with great exactneſs where he was to be.

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK IV.

CYRUS waiting there for ſome conſiderable time with the army, and having made it appear that they were ready to fight if any would come out againſt them, ſince no body ſtirred, led off at the diſtance he thought proper, and they encamped.

THEN having placed his guards, and ſent out his ſcouts, he placed himſelf in the midſt, and calling his ſoldiers together he ſpoke to this effect:—"Men "of *Perſia!* I do in the firſt place give all poſſible "praiſe to the GODS! I believe you all do the ſame; "for we have obtained conqueſt and ſafety. Out of "what we poſſeſs, therefore, it is our duty to make "the gods our preſents of gratitude and thanks in

"return

" return of theſe things. After this I give praiſe to
" you all! For the action that is paſſed has been
" performed by you all. When I have made my
" enquiry from the proper perſons what each man
" deſerves, I will endeavour both in word and in
" deed to pay every man his due.—With reſpect to
" *Chryſantas*, indeed, who was the neareſt centurion
" to me, I need not enquire of others, but I know
" myſelf how well he behaved. For he performed
" all thoſe other acts that I believe you all did; and
" when I gave out orders to retreat, calling upon
" him particularly by name, he who had his ſword
" held up to give his enemy a ſtroke obeyed me in
" the inſtant, and forbearing to do what he was
" about, performed my command. For he retreated
" himſelf, and tranſmitted the order with the greateſt
" diſpatch to others. So that he got his century
" out of weapon's caſt before the enemy per-
" ceived that we were retreating; before they ex-
" tended their bows or threw their javelins; ſo that
" he was himſelf unhurt, and kept his men unhurt
" by this obedience: but there are others, (ſaid he,)
" that I ſee wounded. And when I have examined
" at what time it was that they were wounded, I
" will then declare my opinion concerning them.
" *Chryſantas* I now reward with the command of a
" thouſand, as a man vigorous in action, prudent,
" and able both to obey and command. And when
" God ſhall grant us any farther advantage, neither
" will I then forget him. — And I am deſirous
too,

"too, (ſaid he,) to give you all an advice: that you "would never loſe the remembrance and the "conſideration of what you now ſee by this battle; "that you may always have it ſettled in your minds "whether it is flight, or virtue rather, that preſerves "the lives of men; whether they who readily engage "in action come off the better, or they who are back-"ward and unwilling, and that you may judge how "great a pleaſure it is that victory affords. You may "now the better make a judgment of theſe things, "having had experience of them, and the affair hav-"ing been ſo lately tranſacted. And, (ſaid he,) by "having the conſideration of theſe things always pre-"ſent in your minds, you will become the better "men. — Now, like diſcreet and worthy men, fa-"voured of heaven, take your ſuppers, make your "libations to the gods, begin your hymn, and be "obſervant of the word of command."

THIS ſaid, he mounted on his horſe, and rode off. Then coming to *Cyaxares*, and having congratulated with him as was proper, having ſeen how things ſtood there, and having enquired whether *Cyaxares* had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. *Cyrus*'s men having taken their ſuppers, and placed their guards as was proper, went to reſt.

THE *Aſſyrians*, upon their prince being killed, and together with him all the braveſt of their men, were all in a deſponding condition, and many of them fled from the camp in the night. Upon ſeeing theſe things, *Cræſus*, and their other allies, loſt all courage,

for

for they were ſurrounded with difficulties on all ſides; and what chiefly ſunk the courage of them all was, that the principal nation of all that were in the army were entirely confounded in their opinions. So they quitted the camp, and went off in the night.

As ſoon as it was day, and that the camp appeared to be entirely abandoned, *Cyrus* immediately made the *Perſians* march firſt into it. Great numbers of ſheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons, full of abundance of valuable things. After this, the *Medes*, with *Cyaxares*, marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, *Cyrus* called his centurions together, and ſpoke to this effect: — "Friends, how many "valuable things have we, in my opinion, perfectly "thrown away, when the gods had delivered them "into our hands! for you yourſelves ſee that the "enemy are flying for fear of us: And how can any "body think that they, who, when poſſeſſed of an "entrenched poſt, quitted it and fled, can ſtand, "and look us in the face upon fair ground? They "who did not ſtand before they had made trial of us, "how ſhould ſuch men ſtand after they are beaten, "and have been ſo ill treated by us? How ſhould "the worſt of thoſe men incline to fight us, of whom "the beſt have been deſtroyed?" Upon this ſome-body ſaid: "Why do not we immediately purſue, "when the advantages we have are ſo evident?" *Cyrus* replied, "Why, becauſe we want horſe; and "the beſt of the enemy, and ſuch as it is moſt for

"our

" our purpoſe to take or to deſtroy, are retiring on " horſeback; and thoſe that (with the help of the " gods,) we are able to put to flight, we are not able " to take in the purſuit." — " Why, then, ſaid they, " do not you go to *Cyaxares*, and tell him theſe " things?" To this he ſaid, " Come, therefore, all " of you along with me, that he may ſee we are all of " us of this opinion." Upon this they all followed him, and ſaid what they thought was proper concerning the things they deſired.

CYAXARES, partly out of a ſort of envy becauſe they had begun the diſcourſe upon the ſubject, and partly, perhaps, becauſe he thought it beſt for him not to hazard another battle, (for he was indulging himſelf in pleaſure, and obſerved that many of the *Medes* were doing the ſame thing,) ſpoke therefore in this manner: — " I am convinced, *Cyrus*, by " the teſtimony both of my eyes and ears, that you, " *Perſians*, of all mankind, ſtudy the moſt how to " keep yourſelves from being impotent, and inſa- " tiable in any kind of pleaſure. But my opinion is, " that it is by much the moſt advantageous thing to " be maſtered of ones ſelf in the greateſt pleaſure of " all; and what is there that gives men greater plea- " ſure than the good fortune that has now befallen " us? Therefore, ſince we have that good fortune, " if we take care to preſerve it with diſcretion and " temper, perhaps we may, without hazard, grow " old in happineſs; but if we uſe it greedily and in- " ſatiably, and endeavour to purſue one piece of

" good

" good fortune after another, take care leſt we ſuffer
" the ſame fate that they ſay many people do at ſea,
" who, by means of their having been once fortunate,
" will never ceaſe repeating their voyages till they
" are loſt; and as they ſay many do, who, having ob-
" tained one victory, and aiming at more, have loſt
" the firſt. If, indeed, the enemy, who are fled, were
" fewer than we, perhaps we might purſue thoſe with
" ſafety, but conſider what part of them it was that
" our whole number fought and conquered, the reſt
" were out of the action; and, unleſs we force them
" to fight, are going their ways, meanly and igno-
" rantly, without knowing their own ſtrength or ours.
" If they ſhall find that they are not leſs in danger
" in retreating, than they are in ſtanding us, how can
" it happen otherwiſe than that we ſhall force them,
" even againſt their wills to be brave? For be aſ-
" ſured that you are not more deſirous to ſeize their
" wives and children, than they are to preſerve them:
" And conſider even ſwine, that they, though many
" in number, betake themſelves to flight, together
" with their young, as ſoon as they are diſcovered;
" but if any man purſue one of their little ones, the
" ſow, though ſhe be ſingle, does not continue her
" flight, but attacks the purſuer that attempts to take
" it. Now theſe men, upon this late occaſion, had
" ſhut themſelves up in an entrenchment, and let
" themſelves be parcelled out by us in ſuch a manner,
" as put it into our power to engage as many of them
" as we pleaſed; but if we march up to them in an

" open

" open country, and they ſhall have learnt to divide
" and extend themſelves, ſo that part of them ſhall
" oppoſe us in front, part upon one wing, and part
" upon another, and ſome in our rear; do you then
" take care leſt we, every one of us, ſtand in need of
" many more hands and arms than we have. Be-
" ſides, (ſaid he,) now that I obſerve the *Medes* to be
" enjoying themſelves, I ſhould be very unwilling
" to rouſe them from their pleaſures, and compel
" them to throw themſelves into danger."

THEN *Cyrus*, in reply, ſaid, " You ſhall compel
" no one. Do but allow thoſe to follow me that are
" willing to do it. Perhaps we may come back, and
" bring you, and every one of theſe friends of yours,
" what you will all be pleaſed with. We will not
" purſue the main body of the enemy, for how
" ſhould we be able to lay our hands on them? But if
" we meet with any thing ſtraggling from the reſt of
" the army, or left behind, we will come and bring it
" you. Conſider, then, (ſaid he,) that, when you
" wanted us, we came a long journey to do you plea-
" ſure, it were but juſt, therefore, that you ſhould
" gratify us in return, that we may go home poſſeſ-
" ſed of ſomething, and not all of us have our eye
" to your treaſures." Here *Cyaxares* ſaid, " If any
" one, indeed, would attend you of his own accord,
" I ſhould think myſelf obliged to you. Send with
" me, then, one of theſe credible perſons who ſhall
" tell your meſſage." " Come, (ſaid he,) take which
" of them you pleaſe." — And there happened to be

that perſon preſent who had called himſelf his relation, and that he had kiſſed. *Cyrus*, therefore, immediately ſaid, "I am contented with this man." "Let "him, therefore, (ſaid he,) attend you; and do you, (ſaid he,) "declare, that any one, who is willing, "may go with *Cyrus*." So, taking this man with him, he went out. As ſoon he came out, *Cyrus* preſently ſaid to him, "Now you will make it appear "whether you ſpoke truth when you ſaid you were "delighted with the ſight of me."—"When you "propoſe this matter, ſaid the *Mede*, I will not aban-"don you."—"And will not you, ſaid *Cyrus*, your-"ſelf eſpouſe it, and propoſe it to others?" Then, with an oath, "By *Jove*, (ſaid he,) I will; and that "till I make you delighted with the ſight of me!" Then did this meſſenger of *Cyaxares* diſcharge himſelf with zeal in all reſpects, by declaring his meſſage to the *Medes*; and added this of himſelf: "That, for "his part, he would not deſert this beſt and moſt ex-"cellent of men; and, what was above all, this man "who derived his original from the gods!"

While *Cyrus* was tranſacting theſe affairs, there came meſſengers from the *Hyrcanians*, as if by divine appointment. The *Hyrcanians* are borderers upon the *Aſſyrians*; they are no great nation, and therefore ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*; they at that time, it ſeems, conſiſted of horſe, and do ſo at this day: The *Aſſyrians* therefore uſed them as the *Lacedæmonians* do the people of *Sciros*, not ſparing them in fatigues and dangers; and they at that time had commanded them

to

to make the rear-guard, being a thouſand horſe, that in caſe any danger preſſed upon them in the rear, theſe men might have it fall upon them before it reached themſelves. The *Hyrcanians* being to march behind all, had their waggons and domeſticks in the rear; for moſt of the inhabitants of *Aſia* are attended in their military expeditions by thoſe that they live with at home, and the *Hyrcanians* at that time attended the ſervice in that manner. Conſidering, therefore, with themſelves what they ſuffered under the *Aſſyrians*; that their prince was now dead, and they beaten; that the army was now under great terror; that their allies were in a deſponding condition, and were quitting them; upon theſe conſiderations this appeared to them to be a noble opportunity to revolt, if *Cyrus*'s men would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. Accordingly they ſent meſſengers to *Cyrus*, for, ſince the battle, his fame was grown to the greateſt height.

THE men that were ſent told *Cyrus*, "That they "had a juſt hatred to the *Aſſyrians*; that if he would "now march up to them, they themſelves would be "his aſſiſtants, and lead him the way." They gave him likewiſe accounts of the circumſtances of the enemy, as men who were extremely deſirous to animate him to this expedition. Then *Cyrus* aſked them, "Do you think," (ſaid he,) that we can get up "with them before they get into their fortreſſes? "For, (ſaid he,) we take it to be a very great mis-"fortune that they fled without our knowledge."

This he ſaid, with intention to raiſe in them the greateſt confidence poſſible in himſelf and his people. They replied, "That if he and his men, ſetting "out early in the morning marched with expedition, "they might come up with them even the next "day; for by reaſon of their multitude, and the "number of their carriages, they marched very "ſlowly. And beſides, (ſaid they,) having had no "reſt the night before, they marched but a little "way, and are now encamped." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "Have you any pledge, therefore, to give us of the "truth of what you ſay?" "We will go, (ſaid they,) "this inſtant, and bring you hoſtages to-night. "Do you only give us the ſecurity of your taking "the gods to witneſs on your part, and give us your "right-hand; that what we ourſelves thus receive "from you, we may carry to the reſt of our people." Upon this he gave them the teſtimonials of his faith, that "If they accompliſhed what they ſaid, he "would treat them as faithful men and friends, and "that they ſhould not be of leſs conſideration with "him than the *Perſians* or *Medes*." And at this day it may be obſerved, that the *Hyrcanians* are employed in conſiderable truſts; and are poſſeſſed of governments, as thoſe of the *Perſians* and *Medes* are that appear worthy of them.

WHEN they had ſupped, he led out the army while it was yet day; and he ordered the *Hyrcanians* to ſtay, that they might go with him. All the *Perſians*, as one may naturally ſuppoſe, were immediately out.

Tygranes

Tygranes likewiſe with his army was the ſame: But of the *Medes*, ſome marched out, becauſe, while they were yet boys, they had been friends to *Cyrus* while a boy; ſome, becauſe by converſing with him in his huntings, they were much taken with his temper and manners; ſome out of gratitude, becauſe they thought him the man who had relieved them when they were under very great terror; ſome, by his appearing already to be a man of great dignity and worth, had hopes that he would ſtill grow farther ſo as to be prodigiouſly fortunate and great; ſome, becauſe they were deſirous to return him that friendſhip and ſervice, that he had done them while he lived among the *Medes*; for out of his good nature he had performed ſeveral ſervices with his grandfather for many of them; but moſt part of them, when they ſaw the *Hyrcanians*, and that it was diſcourſed abroad that they were to lead the way to mighty advantages, marched out in order to get ſomething. So almoſt all the *Medes* marched, except thoſe that were in the tent with *Cyaxares*; theſe remained, and the men that were under their command; the reſt haſtened out with zeal and pleaſure, as not going by conſtraint, but voluntarily, and with deſign to oblige. When they were out he went to the *Medes*: He firſt commended them, and prayed,

"That the *GODS*, being propitious both to them,
"to himſelf, and to his people, would vouchſafe to
"conduct them; and then that he himſelf might
"be enabled to make them grateful returns of this

" their zeal!" In the laſt place he told them, that the foot ſhould lead the way, and bid them follow with their horſe.—And wherever they reſted, or ſuſpended their march, he ordered them to ſend off ſome people to him, that they might be informed of what was proper upon every occaſion.—Upon this, he ordered the *Hyrcanians* to lead the way; and they aſked him this queſtion, " Why, (ſaid they,) do not " you ſtay till we bring our hoſtages, that you may " march with the pledges of our fidelity in your " hands?" He is ſaid to have replied thus: " Why, (ſaid he,) " I conſider that we have all of us pledges " of your fidelity in our own hearts and hands; for " we take ourſelves to be ſo well provided, that, if " you tell us truth, we are in a condition to do you " ſervice; and if you deceive us, we reckon that we " ſtand upon ſuch a foot as not to be ourſelves in " your power, but rather, if the gods ſo pleaſe, that " you will be in ours. Since, then, (ſaid he,) O " *Hyrcanians!* you ſay that your people march the " hindermoſt, as ſoon as you ſee them, ſignify to us " that they are your people, that we may ſpare them." —The *Hyrcanians*, hearing theſe things, led the way as he ordered. They admired his firmneſs of mind, and were no longer in fear either of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Lydians*, or their allies, but only, leſt *Cyrus* ſhould be convinced, that whether they were preſent or abſent they were of little ſignificance.

While they were upon the march, and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is ſaid to have appeared

appeared to *Cyrus*, and to the army; ſo that all were ſeized with a ſhivering at the divine appearance, but inſpired with boldneſs againſt the enemy. As they marched without incumbrance and with diſpatch, they probably rid abundance of ground, and at the dawn of day they were near the *Hyrcanian* army.—As ſoon as the meſſengers diſcovered them, they told *Cyrus*, that theſe were their people: "They ſaid, they "knew them by their being the hindermoſt, and by "their multitudes of fires." Upon this, he ſent one of the two meſſengers to them, ordering to tell them, "If they were friends, immediately to meet "him holding out their right hands." He ſent ſome of his own people with them, and bid them tell the *Hyrcanians*, "That when he and his people "ſaw them advancing, they themſelves would do "the ſame thing." So one of the meſſengers ſtaid with *Cyrus*, the other rode off to the *Hyrcanians*. While *Cyrus* was obſerving what the *Hyrcanians* would do, he made the army halt; and the chief of the *Medes* and *Tygranes* rode up to him and aſked him what they were to do? He told them thus: "This body that is near us is that of the *Hyrcanians*. "One of their meſſengers is going to them, and "ſome of our people with him, to tell them, if they "are friends to meet us with their right hands held "out; therefore, if they come in this manner, do "you, every one in your ſeveral ſtations, receive "them with your right hands as they come, and en- "courage them: If they take to their arms, or at-

" temp to fly, do you endeavour to let none of these " that we first meet with escape." He gave these orders: and the *Hyrcanians* having heard the report of the messengers, were in great joy; and mounting their horses at a leap, came up as was told them with their right hands extended. The *Medes* and *Persians* on their side received them with their right hands, and encouraged them. Upon this *Cyrus* said, " *Hyr-*
" *canians!* we now trust to you! " It is your part
" to be in the same disposition towards us! But, in
" the first place, (said he,) tell us this: How far from
" hence is the place where the enemy's commanders
" are, and their main body?" They said in answer,
" That it was little more than a parasang."

Upon this occasion, *Cyrus* said: " Come on then! (said he,) " men of *Persia! Medes!* and you *Hyr-*
" *canians!* for to you I now speak as to confederates
" and sharers with us in all things. You ought all
" now to be assured, that we are in such a circum-
" stance, as must bring upon us the greatest severities
" of fortune, if we act in it remissly and faintly.
" For the enemy know for what purposes we come.
" If we march to the enemy with vigour and spirit,
" and charge home, you will see them, like slaves
" that have run away and are discovered, some sup-
" plicating for mercy, some flying, and some with-
" out presence of mind enough to do either. For,
" beaten as they are, they will see us come upon
" them, and, thinking of our coming, will be sur-
" prized, without order, and without being prepared

" to

" to fight. If therefore we deſire henceforward to
" take our meals, to paſs our nights, and to ſpend the
" reſt of our lives with pleaſure, do not let us give
" them leiſure to contrive or execute any thing that
" may be for their own ſervice, nor to know ſo
" much as that we are men; but let them fancy that
" all is ſhields, ſwords, cutlaſſes, and blows that falls
" upon them. And do you, *Hyrcanians!* (ſaid he,)
" extending yourſelves in front before us, march
" firſt; that, by the appearance of your arms, we
" may keep concealed as long as poſſible. When I
" get up with the enemy's army, do you, each of
" you, leave with me a troop of horſe, that I may
" make uſe of them, in caſe of need, remaining in
" the camp? Do you commanders, and your men
" of moſt years, if you are wiſe, march together in
" cloſe order, leſt meeting perhaps with a cloſe body,
" you be repulſed. Send out your younger men to
" purſue; let theſe diſpatch the enemy; for it is our
" ſafeſt courſe at this time to leave as few of the enemy
" alive as we can. But leſt, what has happened to
" many victors, a turn of fortune befal us, we ought
" ſtrictly to guard againſt turning to plunder; and
" as he that does it can no longer be reckoned a man,
" but a mere bearer of baggage, ſo any one that will
" is free to uſe him as a ſlave. You ought to be
" ſenſible that there is nothing more gainful than
" victory; for the victor ſweeps all away with him,
" both men, women, and treaſure, together with the
" whole country. Keep your eye therefore intent only

" upon

" upon the preſervation of victory, for even the
" plunderer himſelf is comprehended in it. And
" remember this too in your purſuit, that you return
" again to me while it is yet day; for after it is dark,
" we will give admittance to none."

HAVING ſaid this, he diſmiſſed them, every one to his own century, and ordered them withal to go their ways and ſignify theſe things, every one to his chiefs of ten; for the chiefs of tens were all in front, ſo as to be able to hear; and he bid them order the chiefs of tens to give theſe directions, each to his own ten; upon this, the *Hyrcanians* led the way; he himſelf marched with the *Perſians* in the center, and formed the horſe as uſual upon each wing. As ſoon as his army appeared, ſome of the enemy were aſtoniſhed at the ſight; ſome already diſcovered what it was; ſome told it about; ſome ſet up a clamour; ſome looſed their horſes; ſome packed up their effects; ſome threw the arms from off the beaſts of burthen, and ſome armed themſelves; ſome mounted their horſes; ſome bridled them; ſome helped the women up upon the waggons; ſome laid hold of what they had of greateſt value, to ſave it; and ſome were found burying ſuch kind of things; but moſt of them betook themſelves to flight. It muſt needs be thought that they were taken up with theſe things, and many more of various kinds; excepting only that no body fought, but that they were deſtroyed without making any oppoſition. *Cræſus*, the king of the *Lydians*, it being the ſummer ſeaſon, had ſent

away

away his women in the night in chariots before, that they might travel with the more eaſe in the cool; and he himſelf with his horſe had followed after. The *Phrygian*, they ſay, who was prince of that *Phrygia* that lies upon the *Helleſpont*, did the ſame. But as ſoon as they perceived the runaways, and that ſome of them came up with them, having got information of what had happened, they fled in the utmoſt haſte. The kings of the *Capadocians*, and of the *Arabians* that were at hand, and without their corſlets, thinking themſelves ſecure, the *Hyrcanians* killed. But the greateſt number of thoſe that died upon this occaſion were *Aſſyrians* and *Arabs*; for being in their own country, they were moſt remiſs in marching off. The *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* performed ſuch things in the purſuit, as are uſual for men that have gained the victory. But *Cyrus* ordered the horſe that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all ſuch as they ſaw going off with their arms; and to thoſe that remained he ordered it to be proclaimed, "That all ſoldiers of the enemy "whatever, whether horſemen, targeteers, or archers, "ſhould bring their arms, all bound up together, "away to him; and leave their horſes at their tents, "and that if any refuſed to do thus, he ſhould "immediately loſe his head." — Some with their ſwords drawn, ſtood round in order; they who had arms brought them away, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed them; and they that he ordered for that ſervice, burnt them.

BUT

But *Cyrus* then reflecting that they were come without either meat or drink, and that without theſe it was impoſſible to carry on a war, or do any thing elſe; conſidering, therefore, how he might be ſupplied with theſe things the ſooneſt, and in the beſt manner, it came into his mind, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for all men that were engaged in military ſervice, to have ſome certain perſon to take care of the tent; and who ſhould provide all things neceſſary for the ſoldiers when they came in.—He judged, therefore, that of all people in the camp theſe were the moſt likely to be left behind, becauſe of their being employed in packing up the baggage; ſo he ordered proclamation to be made, that all the officers of this kind ſhould come to him, and where there was no ſuch officer, that the oldeſt man of that tent ſhould attend; he denounced all manner of ſeverity to him that ſhould diſobey. But they all paid obedience inſtantly, having ſeen their maſters do it before them. When they were preſent, he commanded all ſuch as had neceſſaries in their tents for two months and upwards to ſit down. When he had obſerved theſe, he again commanded all ſuch as were provided for one month to do the ſame. Upon this almoſt all of them ſat. When he found this, he ſpoke to them thus: "Come, then, good people, "all thoſe of you who would avoid evil, and deſire "to obtain any good from us, do you with readi-"neſs and zeal take care, that in each tent there be "prepared double the portion of meat and drink

"that

" that you uſed to provide each day for your maſters
" and their domeſticks, and have all things elſe
" ready that will contribute to furniſh out a hand-
" ſome entertainment; taking it for granted, that
" the party conquering will be preſently with you,
" and will require to have all things neceſſary pro-
" vided for them in plenty. Know, therefore, that
" it may be of ſervice to you to receive theſe men in
" the moſt unexceptionable manner." Having heard theſe things, they executed the orders with the greateſt diligence. And having called the centurions together, he ſpoke to this effect:

" WE know, friends, that it is now in our power
" to take our dinners firſt, before our allies who are
" abſent, and to apply the moſt exquiſite meats and
" drinks to our own uſe; but, in my opinion, this
" dinner will not do us ſo much ſervice as our ma-
" king it appear that we are careful of our allies; nor
" will this good entertainment add more to our own
" ſtrength, than we ſhall gain by making our confe-
" derates zealous and hearty in our intereſt; if we
" appear ſo negligent of thoſe that are purſuing and
" deſtroying our enemies, and fighting in caſe there
" are any that oppoſe them, that they find we have
" dined before. We know what they are doing;
" how can it happen otherwiſe than that we ſhall ap-
" pear vile in their ſight, and loſe our ſtrength by
" loſing our allies? but to be careful that they who
" are engaged in fatigues and dangers may have all
" neceſſaries ready for them when they come in, this,

" I ſay,

" I ſay, is the treat that ſhould more delight you than
" the preſent gratification of your bellies. And
" conſider, (ſaid he,) that if we were to act without
" any reſpect to our friends, yet to cram with meat
" and drink is not at all proper with regard to our-
" ſelves, for we have a great many enemies in the
" camp, looſe and unconfined; it is our buſineſs to
" be upon our guard againſt them, and to keep a
" guard upon them, that we may have people to do
" all neceſſary things for us. Our horſe are abſent,
" and give us cauſe to be in ſome concern and doubt
" where they are, whether they are to come back to
" us, or whether they are to ſtay. So that in my
" opinion, friends, the meat and drink the moſt for
" our purpoſe at preſent ought to be, what one can
" imagine of moſt uſe to preſerve us from being
" drowſy and remiſs. Yet farther, I know that there
" are great treaſures in the camp; and I am not ig-
" norant that it is in our power to appropriate to
" ourſelves what we pleaſe of theſe things that belong
" in common to all that were jointly concerned with
" us in taking them; but I am of opinion that our
" taking them to ourſelves cannot be a greater gain
" to us than by making ourſelves appear to theſe men
" to be juſt and honeſt, to purchaſe by that means
" ſtill a greater ſhare in their affection than we have
" yet obtained. And I am of opinion (ſaid he) to give
" up the diſtribution of theſe treaſures to the *Medes*,
" *Hyrcanians*, and *Tygranes*, when they come; and
" even to reckon it an advantage if they allot us the

" ſmalleſt

" ſmalleſt ſhare; for by means of their profit they
" will with the more pleaſure remain with us; and
" the taking a preſent advantage may, indeed, afford
" us ſhort-lived riches, but they that give up this, ac-
" quire by it, in return, thoſe things from whence
" riches flow; and, in my opinion, this may procure
" much more laſting riches to us and ours. It was
" for this end, I think, that we practiſed at home that
" continence and command over ourſelves in the
" concerns of the belly, and in matters of unreaſon-
" able profit, that we might be able, when occaſion
" ſerved, to make uſe of theſe qualities for our ad-
" vantage; and upon what greater occaſion, than the
" preſent one, we can ſhew the virtue of our inſtituti-
" on, I do not ſee."

THUS he ſpoke; and *Hyſtaſpes*, a *Perſian*, and one of the alike-honoured, ſpoke in favour of his opinion in this manner: " It were, indeed, a ſad caſe, *Cyrus*,
" if in hunting we can continually maſter ourſelves,
" and abſtain from food, in order to get poſſeſſion of
" ſome beaſt, and perhaps of very little value; and
" when we are in purſuit of all that is valuable in the
" world, we ſhould not think it very unbecoming us
" to ſuffer ourſelves to be ſtopped in our courſe by
" any of thoſe things that have the command, indeed,
" of mean men, but are inferior and ſubſervient to the
" deſerving." Thus ſpoke *Hyſtaſpes* in ſupport of *Cyrus*'s opinion; the reſt approved it. Then *Cyrus* ſaid: " Well, then, ſince we agree in theſe matters,
" do you ſend out five men of each company, and

" ſuch as are the moſt diligent and careful; let theſe " march round, and thoſe whom they find employed " in providing the neceſſaries, let them commend; " thoſe whom they find negligent let them chaſtiſe, " without ſparing them, any more than if they them- " ſelves were their maſters." Theſe men executed their orders.

By this time ſome of the *Medes* drove up ſeveral waggons, that had ſet out before from the camp, and that they had taken and turned back, loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots that they had taken, ſome full of the moſt conſiderable women, who were, ſome of them, of the legitimate ſort, others of them courte-zans, that were conveyed up and down by theſe people upon the account of their beauty; for to this day all the inhabitants of *Aſia*, in time of war, attend the ſervice, accompanied with what they value the moſt; and ſay that they fight the better, when the things that are moſt dear to them are preſent; for they ſay that they muſt, of neceſſity, defend theſe with zeal and ardour. Perhaps, indeed, it is ſo; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleaſure.

CYRUS, obſerving the things that were performed by the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians*, was almoſt angry with himſelf, and with thoſe that were with him; for the others ſeemed to outſhine them at that time, and to be continually making ſome advantage or other, while they themſelves ſtood quiet, in an idle ſtation: For they that brought the prizes, after ſhew-

ing

ing them to *Cyrus*, rode off again in purſuit of others, for they ſaid that they were ordered ſo to do by their commanders. *Cyrus*, though nettled at this, yet ordered the things away to a particular ſtation; then calling the centurions again together, and ſtanding in a place where what he ſaid might be heard, he ſpoke thus: "I believe, friends, we are all convinced, that "if we had had the taking of theſe things that have "juſt now appeared before us, all the *Perſians* in "general would have been great gainers, and we, "probably, the greateſt, who had been perſonally "concerned in the action. But how we, who are not "able of ourſelves to acquire theſe things, can poſſibly "get them into our poſſeſſion, I do not yet ſee, un-"leſs the *Perſians* procure a body of horſe of their "own; for you obſerve, (ſaid he,) that we *Perſians* "are poſſeſſed of arms that are proper to repel ene-"mies that will cloſe with us, but, when they are once "repulſed, what horſemen, archers, targetteers, or "dartſmen, while we are without horſe, can we poſ-"ſibly take or deſtroy in their flight? Who would "fear to annoy us, whether archers, dartſmen, "or horſe, when they know very well that "there is no more danger of receiving any hurt "from us, than from trees that grow fixed in "the ground? If theſe things are thus, is it not "plain that the horſemen now with us reckon all "things that fall into our hands not leſs theirs than "ours? Nay, perhaps, even more. Upon this "foot therefore do things now neceſſarily ſtand.

" But if we get a body of horſe not inferior to them-
" ſelves, is it not evident to you all that we ſhall
" be able, without them, to perform the ſame things
" againſt the enemy that we now do with them?
" and that we ſhall have them in a more humble diſpo-
" ſition towards us? For when they have a mind
" either to go or ſtay, it will be of leſs concern to us,
" if we are of ourſelves ſufficient without them.
" But be this as it will, yet no one, I believe, will be
" of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the
" *Perſians* to have a body of horſe of their own,
" is not a matter that is entirely indifferent.—But
" then, perhaps, you are conſidering how this can
" be brought about.—Suppoſing then that we incline
" to conſtitute a body of horſe, let us examine
" what it is we have, and what it is we want. Here
" are horſes in great number that are left in the
" camp; and there are bridles to manage them,
" and all other things that are proper for the uſe of
" ſuch as keep horſes. And we have likewiſe
" the things that are proper for the uſe of
" a horſeman himſelf; corſelets for the defence of
" his body, and lances that we may either uſe in
" throwing or at hand. What then remains? It is
" plain we muſt have men. And theſe we have
" more certainly than any thing; for there is no-
" thing ſo much belongs to us as we do to ourſelves.—
" But perhaps ſome body will ſay, that we do not
" underſtand it.—Nor, by *Jove!* have any of thoſe
" who underſtand it now, attained the ſkill before
" they learned it.—But they learned it, ſome body
" may

"may ſay, when they were boys.—And have boys
"the better faculty to learn things, that are told
"them, or ſhewn them, or have men? And when
"they have once learned, which of them have bodies
"the moſt able to undergo labour, boys or men?
"Then, we have that leiſure for learning, that
"neither boys have, nor other men. For we have
"neither the uſe of the bow to learn as boys have;
"for we know it already; nor throwing of the
"javelin, for we know that too; nor have we that
"continual employment that other men have, ſome
"in agriculture, ſome in trades, and ſome in other
"particular affairs. We have not only leiſure to
"practiſe military affairs, but we are under a ne-
"ceſſity of doing it. Nor is this, as many other
"military matters are, a thing of difficulty, as well
"as of uſe; for is it not pleaſanter upon the road
"to be on horſeback, than to travel on foot? and
"where diſpatch is required is it not a pleaſure, to
"get quickly to a friend, when there is occaſion?
"or readily to overtake either a man or a beaſt in
"the purſuit? And is it not a convenience, that
"whatever arms are proper to be carried, the
"horſe helps to carry them? For to have arms and
"to carry them is the ſame thing. And as to what one
"may have moſt reaſon to fear, that we may perhaps
"be obliged to come to action on horſeback, before
"we are yet well ſkilled in the work; and that we
"may become neither able footmen, nor able horſe-
"men; even this is not a difficulty that is uncon-

" querable. For whenever we pleaſe, we are imme-
" diately at liberty to fight on foot; nor ſhall we
" unlearn any thing of our ſkill as footmen by
" learning to ride.

THUS *Cyrus* ſpoke; and *Chryſantas*, ſpeaking in favour of the ſame opinion, ſaid thus: " I am, (ſaid he,) " ſo deſirous of learning to ride, that I reckon " were I a horſeman I ſhould be a flying man. As " matters now ſtand, were I to run a race with a man, " I ſhould be contented if I got but by the head " before him; or if I ſaw a beaſt running by, I " would be contented, if upon the ſtretch, I could " contrive to reach him with my bow or javelin " before he got at a great diſtance from me. But if " I become a horſeman, I ſhall be able to kill any " man though at as great a diſtance as I can ſee; " and in the purſuit of beaſts, ſome I ſhall be able to " come up with and to ſtrike them at hand, others " I ſhall be able to reach with my javelin, as well as " if they ſtood ſtill; for if two creatures are ſwift " alike they continue as near to each other as if they " ſtood ſtill. Of all creatures, they, that, I think, " raiſe my envy and emulation the moſt, are the " centaurs, if there were ever any. Creatures that, " with the underſtanding of man, are capable of " contrivance and forecaſt; who with their hands " can effect what is proper to be done; and have " the ſwiftneſs and ſtrength of the horſe, ſo as to " overtake what flies them, and overturn what op- " poſes them. So, when I am a horſeman, all theſe

" powers

"powers do I carry with me. I ſhall be able to "contrive things with my underſtanding, as a man; "my arms I ſhall carry in my hands; with my "horſe I ſhall purſue; and by my horſe's ſtrength "overturn what oppoſes me. But then I ſhall not "be bound down and grow to him, like the cen- "taurs; and this is certainly better than to be in- "corporated with him. For centaurs, I fancy, "muſt be at a loſs both how to uſe ſeveral con- "veniencies diſcovered by men, and how to enjoy "ſeveral pleaſures natural to horſes. But I, when "I have learned to ride, and am mounted on "horſeback, ſhall perform the part of a centaur; "and when I diſmount, I ſhall take my meals, "cloath myſelf, and take my reſt, as other men "do. So that what am I but a centaur, free "and ſeparable when I pleaſe; and then, when "I pleaſe, of a piece again? Beſides, I have this "advantage of the centaur, (ſaid he,) that he ſaw "but with two eyes, and heard but with two ears; "but I ſhall ſee with four eyes, and receive notice of "things by means of four ears. For the horſe, "they ſay, diſcovers to men many things that he "before-hand ſees with his own eyes; and gives "them notice of many things that he before-hand "hears with his own ears. Write me down there- "fore, as one of thoſe that are deſirous to ſerve on "horſeback."—"And us too, ſaid all the others."—Upon this *Cyrus* ſaid, "Since then, (ſaid he,) we "are ſo much of this opinion; what if we ſhould

" make it a law, that it ſhould be ſcandalous for any
" of thoſe amongſt us, that I furniſh with horſes, to
" be ſeen travelling on foot, let the way he is to go
" be little or great; that men may imagine we are
" entirely centaurs?"—This propoſal he made them, and they all gave their conſent. So that at this day the *Perſians* ſtill put it in practice, and none of the conſiderable men among the *Perſians* are ever to be ſeen travelling on foot of their own good will.

THESE men were employed in theſe diſcourſes; but when the middle of the day was paſt, the *Median* horſe and the *Hyrcanians* rode up and brought with them both horſes and men that they had taken; for as many as delivered their arms they did not kill. When they rode up, *Cyrus* firſt aſked them, whether they were all come ſafe? When they ſaid they were, he then aſked what they had done? And they related the things that they had performed, and gave magnificent accounts how manfully they had acted in every particular. He hearkened with pleaſure to all that they had a mind to tell him, and then commended them thus: " It is apparent how well you have be-
" haved, for you are now in appearance taller, more
" beautiful, and more terrible than before!" He then aſked them, " How far they had gone? and
" whether the country was inhabited?" They told him, " They had gone a great way; that the whole
" country was inhabited, and full of ſheep, goats,
" oxen, and horſes, corn, and all valuable things."
" There are two things, then, (ſaid he,) that we are

" to take care of; how to ſubject the people that are " the poſſeſſors of theſe things; and how to make " them remain upon the place. For a country well " inhabited is a very valuable acquiſition; but one " deſtitute of men is deſtitute of every thing that is " good. All thoſe that ſtood to their defence, (ſaid he,) " I know you have killed, and you did right; " for this is of the greateſt importance for the main- " taining of a victory. Thoſe that delivered their " arms you have taken; and if we diſmiſs them, we " ſhould do what, I ſay, would turn to our advan- " tage: For, firſt, we ſhall not be under a neceſſity " of being upon our guard againſt them, nor of keep- " ing a guard upon them, nor of furniſhing them " with proviſions; for certainly we ſhould not be for " ſtarving them: Then, by diſmiſſing them, we ſhall " have the greater number of captives; for if we " conquer the country, all will be our captives that " inhabit it, and the reſt, when they ſee theſe living " and ſet at liberty, will the more readily remain, " and rather chuſe to ſubmit than to continue in " war.—This is my judgment; but if any other " perſon ſees what is better, let him ſay it."—But they, having heard theſe things, agreed to act accordingly.

So *Cyrus*, having called for the priſoners, ſpoke thus: " Friends, (ſaid he,) by your preſent ſubmiſ- " ſion you have preſerved your lives; and for the " future, if you behave in the ſame manner, no ill " whatever ſhall befall you, unleſs it be, that the ſame

" perſon will not govern you that governed you be-
" fore: But you ſhall inhabit the ſame houſes; and
" you ſhall cultivate the ſame territory; and you
" ſhall live with the ſame wives; and you ſhall rule
" your children as you do now; but you ſhall neither
" make war upon us, nor upon any one elſe; and if
" any other injure you, we will fight for you. And
" that nobody may order you out upon military ſer-
" vice, bring your arms to us. And to thoſe that
" bring them, peace! and what I promiſe ſhall be
" made good to them without fraud: But we will
" make war upon thoſe that refuſe to lay their arms
" aſide. But then, if any of you ſhall come to us,
" and ſhall appear to do any action, or to give any
" information in friendſhip and good-will to us, him
" will we treat as a benefactor and a friend, not as
" a ſlave. Let theſe things, therefore, be known to
" you, and do you tell them to the reſt. And if
" there are any that will not comply with us in theſe
" things that we require, do you lead us the way to
" them, that we may make ourſelves maſters of them,
" and they not maſters of us." Thus he ſpoke.—
They paid him their adoration, and ſaid that they
would perform what he enjoined them.

When they were gone, *Cyrus* ſaid, " It is time,
" O *Medes* and *Armenians!* for all of us to take our
" ſuppers; and all things proper have been made
" ready for you in the beſt manner that we were able.
" Go your ways then, and ſend us half the bread that
" has been made, for there has enough been made for

" us both; but ſend us neither meat with it nor any " thing to drink, for of theſe we have enough with " us already provided; and do you, (ſaid he,) O *Hyr-* " *canians!* conduct them to the tents; the com- " manders to the greateſt, (for you know which they " are,) and the others as you think moſt proper: " And do you likewiſe take your ſuppers, where it " is moſt agreeable to you; for the tents are un- " touched, and all things are provided there for you " as well as for the others. But let this be known " to you both, that we undertake to keep the night- " watch without. Do you look to what paſſes in " the tents, and place your arms within; for they " who are in the tents are not yet our friends."

THE *Medes* then, and *Tygranes*'s people bathed themſelves, (for all matters for that purpoſe had been provided,) and having changed their cloaths, took their ſuppers; and their horſes were provided with all neceſſaries. Half their bread they ſent to the *Perſians*, but ſent no meat with it, nor wine, thinking that *Cyrus*'s people were provided with thoſe things, becauſe he had ſaid that they had them in plenty; but what *Cyrus* meant was, that the meat they had with their bread was hunger, and their drink was the water of a ſtream that ran by. *Cyrus*, therefore, having given the *Perſians* their ſupper, ſent many of them out as ſoon as it was dark, in fives and tens, and commanded them to march round the camp privately; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without; and

that

that if any one ran off with treaſure of any kind, they might take him. And it happened ſo; for there were many that ran away, and many were taken. *Cyrus* allowed the treaſures to thoſe that ſeized them, but ordered them to kill the men. So that afterwards, even though one deſired it, one could not eaſily meet with a man that was going any where in the night. And thus the *Perſians* employed themſelves: But the *Medes* drank and feaſted, entertained themſelves with the muſic of flutes, and indulged themſelves in all kinds of delight and pleaſure; for a multitude of things of that ſort had been taken. So that they who were upon the watch were in no want of work.

But *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, that night that *Cyrus* marched away, was drunk himſelf, as well as thoſe that were of his company in the tent, it being upon an occaſion of happy ſucceſs. And he thought that the reſt of the *Medes*, excepting only ſome few, were ſtill remaining in the camp, becauſe he heard a mighty noiſe and uproar; for the ſervants of the *Medes*, upon their maſters being gone, drank without ceaſing, and were very tumultuous; and the more becauſe they had taken from the *Aſſyrian* army great quantities of wine, and abundance of other ſuch things. As ſoon as the day came, and that nobody attended at his doors but they that had ſupped with him, and that he heard that the camp was left empty by the *Medes* and by their horſe, and that he himſelf, when he went out, ſaw that this was really the caſe, he

he then broke out into a rage at their going away and leaving him deſtitute. And as he is ſaid to have been very violent and raſh, he immediately commanded one of thoſe about him to take ſome horſe with him, and march with the utmoſt diſpatch to the army that was with *Cyrus*, and to ſay thus: "I was of opinion, "*Cyrus*, that even you would not have engaged in "councils ſo imprudent and ill for me; or if *Cyrus* "might have thought fit to do ſo, I did not think "that you, *Medes*, would have conſented to leave me "thus deſtitute. Now, therefore, whether *Cyrus* will "or will not, do you come away to me with the ut-"moſt diſpatch,"—This meſſage he ſent them; but he that received theſe orders to march, ſaid, "But "how, O ſovereign, ſhall I be able to find them?" "And how ſhould *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) find thoſe that "he marched after?" "Truly, becauſe, (ſaid he,) as "I hear, certain *Hyrcanians*, who belonged to the "enemy, and who had revolted and came thither, "went and led them the way." *Cyaxares* hearing this, was in a much greater rage at *Cyrus* for not having told it him; and he ſent in much more haſte to the *Medes*, that he might ſtrip him of his forces; he ordered them back with more vehemence than before, and with threats. The meſſenger likewiſe he threatened in caſe he did not diſcharge himſelf with vigour in the delivery of his meſſage.

THE perſon that was thus ſent marched with about a hundred of his own horſe, and was grieved that he himſelf had not gone with *Cyrus*. As they proceeded

in

in their march, the roads dividing, they loſt their way in a beaten track and could not get to *Cyrus*'s army, till meeting with ſome *Aſſyrians* that were retiring, they forced them to be their guides, and by this means getting ſight of their fires they got up with them about midnight. When they were got to the army, the guards, as was ordered them by *Cyrus*, did not admit them before day.

And when day appeared, *Cyrus* calling to him the mages, commanded to chooſe out what was due to the gods, upon the occaſion of ſuch advantages as they had obtained. Theſe men employed themſelves accordingly. — He having ſummoned the alike-honoured, ſpoke to them thus: "My friends! God is "pleaſed to lay many advantages before us, but we, "O *Perſians!* are at preſent but few in number, to ſe- "cure to ourſelves the poſſeſſion of them; for the "things that we have already gained, unleſs we ſe- "cure them by a guard, will fall again into the "power of others; and if we leave ſome of our- "ſelves as guards to ſecure the things that are al- "ready in our power, we ſhall immediately be found "to have no manner of ſtrength remaining. My "opinion is, therefore, that ſome one among you "ſhould go as ſoon as poſſible to the *Perſians*, ac- "quaint them with what I ſay, and bid them ſend an "army as ſoon as poſſibly they can, if the *Perſians* "deſire that the dominion of *Aſia*, and the revenues "that ariſe from it, ſhould belong to them. Go, "therefore, (ſaid he,) you who are the oldeſt man,

"and,

" and, when you arrive, ſay thus, That whatever ſol-
" diers they ſend, when they come to me, it ſhall be
" my care to maintain. You ſee all the advantages
" that we have gained; conceal no part of them.
" What part of theſe things it will be handſome and
" juſt for me to ſend to the gods, aſk of my father;
" what to the public, aſk of the magiſtrates. Let
" them ſend people to ſee what we do, and to ac-
" quaint them with what we deſire from them.—Do
" you, (ſaid he,) make yourſelf ready, and take your
" company to attend you."

AFTER this he called the *Medes*, and with them *Cyaxares*'s meſſenger appeared, and, before all, declared *Cyaxares*'s anger to *Cyrus*, and his threats to the *Medes*; and, in concluſion, ſaid, "That he com-
" manded the *Medes* to come away, though *Cyrus*
" ſhould incline to ſtay." The *Medes*, upon hearing the meſſenger, were ſilent, not knowing how they ſhould diſobey his ſummons, and yet in fear how they ſhould yield obedience to him upon his threats, eſpecially knowing the violence of the man. But *Cyrus* then ſpoke: "I do not at all wonder, (ſaid he,) O
" meſſenger, and you *Medes*, that *Cyaxares*, who had
" then ſeen a multitude of enemies, and knew not
" what we were doing, ſhould be under concern both
" for us and for himſelf; but when he knows that a
" great many of the enemy are deſtroyed, and that
" they are all driven away before us, he will firſt
" ceaſe to fear, and will then be convinced that he is
" not deſtitute at this time, when his friends are de-

" ſtroying

" ſtroying his enemies. But how is it poſſible that
" we can deſerve reproach for doing him ſervice? and
" that not of our own heads neither? for I prevailed
" with him to allow me to march, and to take you
" with me. It was not you, that from any deſire of
" your own to march, begged his leave to do it, and
" ſo came hither; but it was upon orders from him-
" ſelf to go, given to every one of you that was not
" averſe to it. I am therefore very well ſatisfied that
" this anger of his will be allayed by our ſucceſſes,
" and, when his fear ceaſes, will quite vaniſh. Now,
" therefore, do you, meſſenger, take a little reſt, ſince
" you have undergone a great deal of fatigue. Let
" us, O *Perſians!* ſince we expect the enemy to be
" with us either to fight, or to ſubmit themſelves,
" keep ourſelves in the beſt order; for while we are
" obſerved to be ſo, it is probable we ſhall ſucceed
" the better in what we deſire. And do you, (ſaid
he,) " prince of the *Hyrcanians*, attend here, after you
" have commanded the leaders of your men to call
" them to arms."

WHEN the *Hyrcanians* had done this, and came to him, *Cyrus* ſaid, " It is a pleaſure to me, O *Hyrcani-*
" *an!* not only to perceive that you attend here, after
" having given us marks of your friendſhip, but that
" you appear to me to be a man of great ability. It
" is evident that the ſame things are now alike ad-
" vantageous to us both, for the *Aſſyrians* are ene-
" mies to me, and are now more at enmity with you
" than with myſelf; we muſt both of us, therefore,
" conſult

" conſult how to prevent any of our allies, that are " at preſent with us, from falling off from us, and, if " we can, how to acquire others. You have heard " the *Mede* deliver his orders to recall their cavalry. " If they leave us, how can we, that are foot, remain " alone? You and I therefore muſt contrive, that " this meſſenger, who recalls them, ſhall himſelf de- " ſire to ſtay with us. Do you, therefore, find out " for him, and give him a tent where he may paſs his " time in the handſomeſt manner, and with all things " convenient about him. I will endeavour to em- " ploy him upon ſome buſineſs that will be more " agreeable to him to do, than it will be to leave us. " Do you diſcourſe him upon the many advantages " we hope all our friends will make, in caſe we are " well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary, and, when " you have done this, come again to me." — The *Hyrcanian* went and conducted the *Mede* to a tent; and he that was going to the *Perſians* attended, ready prepared. *Cyrus* directed him to tell the *Perſians* the things he had before mentioned in his diſcourſe to him, and to deliver *Cyaxares* a letter. "But, (ſaid he,) " I have a mind to read you what I write, that " being apprized of the matter, you may own it, if " any body aſks you about it."—The contents of the letter were thus:

CYRUS to CYAXARES.

" JOY and Happineſs! — We have neither left
" you deſtitute, (for nobody, while they conquer
" their enemies, can be deſtitute of friends,) nor,
" when we left you, did we imagine that we brought
" you into danger; but at the greater diſtance we
" were from you, ſo much the more ſecurity did
" we reckon we procured you: for they that ſit
" themſelves down the neareſt to their friends, are not
" the men that beſt afford their friends ſecurity; but
" they that drive their enemies at the greateſt diſ-
" tance, are the men that put their friends the moſt
" out of danger. Conſider then what your conduct
" has been to me, in return of what mine has been to
" you, that you can yet blame me. I brought you
" friends and allies, not as many as you could per-
" ſuade, but as many as I was able. You gave me,
" while I was yet upon friendly ground, as many as
" I could perſuade to follow me; and now, that I
" am in the enemy's territory, you recall not every
" one that is willing to be gone, but all; at that
" time, therefore, I thought myſelf obliged both to
" yourſelf and them. But now you force me to
" leave you out, and to endeavour to make all my
" returns of gratitude and thanks to thoſe that fol-
" lowed me; and yet I cannot act like you, but am
" now ſending to the *Perſians* for an army, and give
" orders that whatever numbers are ſent me, if you
" ſhould be in any want of them before they reach us,

" you

"you are free to uſe them, not according to their "liking, but as you yourſelf pleaſe; and, though I "am the younger man, yet I adviſe you not to take "away what you have once given, leſt you meet with "ill-will, inſtead of thanks; and when you would "have any one to come quickly to you, not to ſend "for him with threats; and when you talk of being "deſtitute, not to threaten a multitude, leſt you "teach them not to mind you. — We will endeavour "to attend you, as ſoon as we have effected the things "that we judge to be of advantage both to you and "us. Health attend you!"

"DELIVER him this letter, and whatever he aſks "you upon the ſubject of theſe affairs, do you an-"ſwer conformably to what is here written. For "with reſpect to the *Perſians*, I give you ſuch orders "as are expreſſed in the letter."—Having ſaid thus to him, and given him the letter, he diſmiſſed him; enjoining him withal to uſe diligence; as taking it for granted, that it would be of great advantage to him to be quickly back again.

AFTER this, he obſerved all the *Hyrcanians* and *Tygranes*'s men already armed. And the *Perſians* were likwiſe armed. At which time ſome of the neighbouring people brought in horſes and arms. Such of the javelins as they were not themſelves in want of, he ordered them to throw upon the place, where he had ordered others before; and thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was, he ordered to burn them. But he commanded thoſe who brought the horſes

to ſtay and look to them, till he ſignified his intentions to them. Then calling to him the commanders of the horſe, and thoſe of the *Hyrcanians*, he ſpoke in this manner: — "My friends and allies! do "not wonder, (ſaid he,) that I call you frequently "together; for our preſent circumſtances are new "to us; many things are yet in diſorder; and things "that are in diſorder muſt of neceſſity give us "trouble till they are ſettled in their proper places. "We have now in our power many treaſures, as "well as men captive; and by our not knowing "which of theſe belong to each of us, and by "their not knowing who is to each of them ſeve- "rally maſter, there are not many of them that we "ſee performing their proper parts; but almoſt all "of them are at a loſs what to do. That things, "therefore, may not continue thus, do you diſtribute "them. Whoever is in poſſeſſion of a tent ful- "ly ſupplied with proviſions of meat and drink, "with ſervants, carpets, and apparel, and with all "other things that a tent well accommodated for "military ſervice is furniſhed with; here, there is "nothing further neceſſary than that the poſſeſſor "ſhould underſtand that it is his part to take care of "theſe things as his own property. But where any "one is poſſeſſed of a tent where thoſe things are "wanting, after you have diſcovered it upon exami- "nation, do you ſupply what falls ſhort. For I "know there will be of many things more than "enough; becauſe the enemy was poſſeſſed of every

" thing in greater proportion than ſuits our num-
" bers. Beſides there have been with me certain
" ſtewards, belonging to the *Aſſyrian* king, and their
" other great men, who have told me, that they had
" by them ſums of gold in coin, ariſing, as they ſaid,
" from certain tributary payments. Make procla-
" mation, therefore, that theſe things be brought
" to you where you ſit, and denounce terror and
" puniſhments to whoſoever does not execute what
" you command them. Do you receive theſe things
" and diſtribute them: to the horſemen, double
" payments; to the foot, ſingle; that in caſe you
" want any thing, you may have wherewithal to buy.
" And have it preſently proclaimed, that no body
" injure the camp-market; but that the ſutlers and
" tradeſmen ſell what each of them has for ſale; and
" when they have diſpoſed of theſe, that they fetch
" more, that the camp may be ſupplied."

THEY immediately had theſe things proclaimed. But the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* ſpoke in this manner: " And how can we, (ſaid they,) diſtribute theſe " things, without you and your people?" *Cyrus* to this queſtion replied thus: " Is this, then, friends! (ſaid he,) " your opinion, that, whatever is to be " done, we muſt all of us attend upon it? And " ſhall not I be thought ſufficient by you to tranſact " any thing for you that may be proper, nor you " ſufficient to tranſact for us? By what other means " can we poſſibly create ourſelves more trouble, and " do leſs buſineſs than by acting thus? But you ſee,

(ſaid he,) " that we have been the guards that have " kept theſe things for you; and you have repoſed " a confidence in us, that they have been well and " faithfully guarded. Do you, on the other ſide, " diſtribute theſe things; and we will repoſe a con- " fidence in you that they have been well and juſtly " diſtributed; and upon other occaſions we will " endeavour to perform ſome other public ſervice.— " And now in the firſt place, you obſerve, how " many horſes we have at preſent, and that others " are continually bringing to us: if we leave theſe " without riders they will be of no manner of uſe to " us, and will give us trouble to take care of them. " But if we ſet horſemen upon them, we ſhall be " freed from the trouble, and ſhall add to our " ſtrength. If you have others that you would give " them to, with whom it would be more pleaſing to " you to act with upon any occaſion in war, than " with us, give them the horſes. But if you would " rather have us for ſupporters and aſſiſtants, give " them to us. For when you puſhed on before us " in the late ſervice without us, you put us under " great apprehenſion, leſt you ſhould come by ſome " misfortune; and you made us aſhamed that we " were not at hand wherever you were. But if we " once get horſes, we will follow you; and if it be " thought of moſt ſervice to engage on horſeback, in " concert with you, we ſhall loſe nothing of our ar- " dour and zeal; but if it be thought moſt proper to " ſupport you on foot, then to alight will be obvious

" and

" and eaſy to us; we ſhall be ready at your hands on
" foot; and will contrive to find people to deliver
" our horſes to."

THUS he ſpoke: and they replied: " We have
" neither men to mount upon the horſes, nor, if we
" had, would we come to any other determination,
" ſince you would have it thus. Take then, (ſaid
they,) " the horſes, and do as you think beſt."—
" I receive them, (ſaid he,) and may good fortune
" attend upon our becoming horſemen!—Do you
" divide the things that are in common. But firſt
" take out for the *GODS* whatever the *Mages* ſhall
" direct: and then take ſuch things for *Cyaxares* as
" you think moſt acceptable to him." They laughed
" and ſaid, " That beautiful women then, were what
" ſhould be choſen for him."—" Chuſe women then,
(ſaid he,) " and whatever elſe you think proper:
" and when you have choſen for him, then do you,
" *Hyrcanians!* do all you can to give entire content
" to all theſe men that have voluntarily followed me.
" And you, O *Medes!* reward theſe our firſt allies in
" ſuch a manner, as may convince them, that they
" took a right reſolution when they became our
" friends; and out of the whole give a ſhare to
" the meſſenger that is come from *Cyaxares*, both to
" himſelf, and the men that are with him, and exhort
" him to ſtay with us, as being my opinion, jointly
" with yours, that by means of his being better in-
" formed of every particular, he may repreſent to
" *Cyaxares* a full ſtate of things. For the *Perſians*,
(ſaid he,) " that are with me, let what remains over

" and above,, after you are all well provided for, be " ſufficient; for (ſaid he) we have not been brought up " in a nice delicate way, but in a coarſe ruſtic manner; " ſo that perhaps you may laugh at us, if there ſhould " happen to be any thing fine and magnificent left for " our ſhare. As I know very well, ſaid he, we ſhall " give you a great deal of laughter and diverſion, " when we are ſet on horſeback; and ſo we ſhall do, I " believe, (ſaid he,) when we are thrown from off our " horſes to the ground."—Upon this they went their ways to the diſtribution, laughing heartily at this new body of horſe.

But he calling the centurions to him, ordered them to take the horſes, the horſe-furniture, and the men that were to take care of them; and after having numbered them, and drawn lots by centuries, to take each of them a like number. *Cyrus* himſelf ordered them to make proclamation, "That whatever ſlave " there might be, either in the *Aſſyrian*, *Syrian*, or " *Arabian* armies, whether he were *Mede*, *Perſian*, " *Bactrian*, *Carian*, *Cilician*, or *Greek*, or of any o- " ther country, forced to ſerve, that he ſhould ap- " pear." Theſe men, hearing the proclamation, appeared joyfully before him in great numbers; and he, having choſen from amongſt them the moſt perſonable and ſightly men, told them that they ſhould now become free, and bear ſuch arms as he would give them. To ſupply them with all neceſſaries, he ſaid, ſhould be his care; and bringing them immediately to the centurions, he put them under their care; and commanded them to give them ſhields,

and

and a ſmaller ſort of ſwords, that, being thus equipped, they might attend the horſe; that they ſhould take all neceſſaries for theſe men as well as for the *Perſians* that were with him; that they themſelves, with their croſlets and lances, ſhould always march on horſeback; and he began it himſelf; and that over the foot of the alike-honoured they ſhould each of them, out of the number of the alike-honoured, appoint a commander in his own ſtead. In theſe affairs were theſe men employed.

MEAN while, *Gobrias*, an *Aſſyrian*, and a man in years, arrived on horſeback; attended by ſome cavalry, conſiſting of his own departments; and they were all provided with arms proper for horſe. They that had been appointed to receive the arms bid them deliver their lances, that they might burn them as they had done others before; but *Gobrias* ſaid, that he deſired firſt to ſee *Cyrus*. Then they that attended this ſervice left the other horſemen behind and conducted *Gobrias* to *Cyrus*. And as ſoon as he ſaw *Cyrus* he ſpoke thus: "My ſove-
"reign lord! I am by birth an *Aſſyrian*; I have a
"ſtrong fortreſs in my poſſeſſion; and have the com-
"mand of a large territory. I furniſhed the *Aſſyrian*
"king with a thouſand horſe; and was very much
"his friend. But ſince he, who was an excellent
"man, has loſt his life in the war againſt you, and
"that his ſon who is my greateſt enemy now poſſeſſes
"the government, I come and throw myſelf at your
"feet as a ſupplicant! and give myſelf to you as a

" ſervant and aſſiſtant in the war! I beg you to be
" my revenger! I make you my ſon as far as it is
" poſſible. With reſpect to male iſſue I am child-
" leſs; for he, O ſovereign! that was my only one,
" an excellent youth! who loved and honoured
" me to as great a degree as a ſon could do to make a
" father happy! him—did the preſent king (the late
" king, the father of the preſent, having ſent for my
" ſon, as intending to give him his daughter, and I
" ſent him away proud that I ſhould ſee my ſon mar-
" ried to the daughter of the king) him—did the
" preſent king invite to hunt with him as with a
" friend. And upon a bear appearing in view, they
" both purſued. The preſent king having thrown
" his javelin miſs'd his aim!—O! that it had not
" happened ſo!—And my ſon making his throw,—
" unhappy thing!—brought the bear to the ground!
" He was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed.
" But then again a lion falling in their way, he again
" miſſed; and that it ſhould happen ſo to him I do
" not think at all wonderful; but my ſon again
" hitting his mark, killed the lion, and ſaid I have
" twice thrown ſingle javelins and brought the
" beaſts both times to the ground. Upon this, the
" impious wretch contained his malice no longer;
" but ſnatching a lance from one of his followers,
" ſtruck it into his breaſt, and took away the life
" of my dear and only ſon! Then I, miſerable man!
" brought him away a corpſe, inſtead of a bride-
" groom! and I, who am of theſe years, buried him,

" my

" my excellent and beloved ſon, a youth but juſt
" bearded!—His murderer, as if he had deſtroyed
" an enemy, has never yet appeared to have had any
" remorſe; nor has he in amends for the vile action,
" ever vouchſafed to pay any honour to him who
" is now under the ground! His father, indeed, had
" compaſſion, and plainly appeared to join in affic-
" tion with me at this my misfortune! Therefore
" had he lived I had never applied to you to his
" prejudice; for I had received a great many in-
" ſtances of friendſhip from him, and I ſerved him.
" But ſince the government is fallen to the murderer
" of my ſon, I can never poſſibly bear him the leaſt
" good-will; nor can he, I know very well, ever
" reckon me his friend; for he knows how I ſtand
" affected towards him, how I, who lived with that
" joy and ſatisfaction before, muſt now ſtand in this
" deſtitute condition paſſing my old age in ſorrow!
" If you receive me therefore, and that I can have
" the hopes of obtaining by your means a revenge
" for my dear ſon! I ſhall think I ariſe again
" to new life! I ſhall neither be aſhamed to
" live, nor, if I die, do I think that I ſhall end my
" days with grief!"

THUS he ſpoke. And *Cyrus* replied; " If you
" make it appear, *Gobrias!* that you really are in
" that diſpoſition towards us that you expreſs; I re-
" ceive you as our ſupplicant, and with the help of
" the gods, I promiſe to revenge you on the
" murderer! But tell me, ſaid he, if we effect theſe

" things

" things for you, and allow you to hold your fortreſs,
" your territory, and your arms, and the power that
" you had before, what ſervice will you do for us in
" return of theſe things?" He then ſaid, "My fortreſs
" I will yield you for your habitation whenever you
" pleaſe; the ſame tribute for my territory that I uſed
" to pay to him, I will pay to you; wherever you ſhall
" make war I will attend you in the ſervice with
" the forces of my territory; and I have beſides,
(ſaid he,) " a maiden daughter, that I tenderly love,
" juſt of an age for marriage; one that I formerly
" reckoned I brought up as a wife for the perſon
" now reigning; but ſhe herſelf has now begged me,
" with many tears and ſighs, not to give her to the
" murderer of her brother; and I join with her in
" opinion: I here give you leave to deal with her
" as I appear to deal by you." Then *Cyrus* ſaid,
" Upon theſe terms, (ſaid he,) with truth and ſin-
" cerity do I give you my right hand, and accept of
" yours; let the gods be witneſſes between us."
When theſe things had paſt, he bid *Gobrias* go, and
keep his arms. And he aſked him at what diſtance
his habitation was? it being his intention to go thi-
ther. He then ſaid, " If you march to-morrow
" morning you may quarter with us the next day."
So *Gobrias* went away and left a guide.

The *Medes* then came, after having delivered to
the *Mages* ſuch things as they had ſaid were to be
choſen for the gods. And they had choſen for *Cyrus*
a moſt beautiful tent, a *Suſian* woman that was ſaid

to

to have been the moſt beautiful woman in all *Aſia*, and two other women that were the fineſt ſingers. And they choſe the ſame things over again for *Cyaxares*. They had fully ſupplied themſelves with all ſuch things as they wanted, that they might be in want of nothing in the courſe of their ſervice in the war; for there were all things in great abundance. The *Hyrcanians* took likewiſe whatever they wanted. And they made *Cyaxares*'s meſſenger an equal ſharer with them. As many tents as were remaining over and above, they gave to *Cyrus*, that the *Perſians* might have them. The money they ſaid they would divide as ſoon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly. Theſe things did theſe men do and ſay. But *Cyrus* ordered ſuch men to take and keep the things that belonged to *Cyaxares*, as he knew to be moſt intimate with him; "And all that you give "me, (ſaid he,) I accept with pleaſure; but he a- "mong you (ſaid he) that is the moſt in want of "them, ſhall have the uſe of them." A certain *Mede*, who was a lover of muſic, then ſaid, "In the "evening, *Cyrus*, I heard thoſe fingers that you now "have, and I heard them with pleaſure; if you "would give me one of them, I believe it will be a "greater pleaſure to me to attend the ſervice of the "war, than to ſtay at home." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "I give her you, and I think myſelf more obliged "to you for aſking her of me, than you are to me "for having her; ſo very deſirous am I to pleaſe "you all." So then he aſked for this woman and took her.

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK V.

CYRUS then calling to him *Araſpes* the *Mede*, (he that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the *Median* robe that he himſelf put off when he left *Aſtyages*, and departed for *Perſia*,) commanded him to keep the woman and tent for him. This woman was wife of *Abradatas*, king of the *Suſians*. And when the camp of the *Aſſyrians* was taken, her huſband was not in the camp, but was gone upon an embaſſy to the king of the *Bactrians*; the *Aſſyrians* had ſent him to treat of an alliance between them, for he happened to have contracted a friendſhip with the king of the *Bactrians*. This woman, therefore, he ordered *Araſpes* to keep, till ſuch time as he took her himſelf. But *Araſpes* having

having received his command, aſked him this queſtion:

"*CYRUS*, (ſaid he,) have you ſeen this woman "that you bid me keep?" "No, by *Jove*, (ſaid he,) "I have not."—"But I did, (ſaid he,) when we "choſe her for you. Indeed, when we firſt entered "her tent, we did not know her, for ſhe was ſitting "upon the ground, with all her women-ſervants "round her, and was dreſſed in the ſame manner as "her ſervants were; but when we looked around, "being deſirous to know which was the miſtreſs, "ſhe immediately appeared to excel all the others, "though ſhe was ſitting with a veil over her, and "looking down upon the ground. When we bid "her riſe, ſhe, and all the ſervants round her, roſe. "Here then ſhe excelled, firſt in ſtature, then in "ſtrength, and grace, and beautiful ſhape; though "ſhe was ſtanding in a dejected poſture, and tears "appeared to have fallen from her eyes, ſome upon "her cloaths, and ſome at her feet. As ſoon as the "eldeſt among us had ſaid to her, take courage "woman; we have heard, that your huſband is in-"deed an excellent man, but we now chuſe you "out for a man, that, be it known to you, is not "inferior to him, either in perſon, in underſtanding, "or in power; but, as we think, if there be a man "in the world that deſerves admiration, *Cyrus* does, "and to him henceforward you ſhall belong. As "ſoon as the woman heard this, ſhe tore down her "robe, and ſet up a lamentable cry, and her ſervants

"cried

" cried out at the ſame time with her. Upon this,
" moſt part of her face diſcovered itſelf, and her
" neck and hands appeared. And be it known to
" you, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) that I, and the reſt that ſaw
" her, all thought, that never yet was produced or
" born of mortals ſuch a woman throughout all
" *Aſia*. And by all means, (ſaid he,) you likewiſe
" ſhall ſee her."

THEN *Cyrus* ſaid, " No, by *Jove*, not I; and much
" the leſs, if ſhe be ſuch a one as you ſay."—" Why
" ſo?" (ſaid thé young man.)—" Becauſe, (ſaid he,)
" if upon hearing now from you that ſhe's handſome,
" I am perſuaded to go and ſee her at a time that
" I have not much leiſure, I am afraid that ſhe will
" much more eaſily perſuade me to come and ſee
" her again; and after that, perhaps, I may neglect
" what I am to do, and ſit gazing at her." The young man then laughed, and ſaid, " And do you
" think, *Cyrus*, that the beauty of a human creature
" can neceſſitate one, againſt one's will, to act con-
" trary to what is beſt? If this were naturally ſo,
(ſaid he,) " we ſhould be all under the ſame neceſ-
" ſity. You ſee, (ſaid he,) how fire burns all people
" alike, for ſuch is the nature of it; but of beau-
" ties, ſome inſpire people with love, and ſome do
" not; one loves one, and another another; for it is
" a voluntary thing, and every one loves thoſe that
" he pleaſes. A brother does not fall in love with
" a ſiſter, but ſomebody elſe does; nor is a father in
" love with a daughter, but ſome other perſon is;

" fear,

" fear, and the law, is a ſufficient bar to love. If, " indeed, (ſaid he,) the law ſhould enjoin, that they " who did not eat ſhould not be hungry, and that " they who did not drink ſhould not be thirſty; " that men ſhould not be cold in the winter, nor " hot in the ſummer; no law in the world could " make men ſubmit to theſe deciſions, for by nature " they are ſubject to theſe things. But love is a " voluntary thing, and every one loves thoſe that " ſuit him, juſt as does his cloaths or his ſhoes." " How comes it to paſs then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) if to love " be a voluntary thing, that one cannot give it over " when one will? For I have ſeen people (ſaid he) " in tears for grief, upon the account of love; ſlaves " to thoſe they were in love with, and yet thought " ſlavery a very great evil before they were in love; " giving away many things that they were never " the better for parting with, wiſhing to be rid of " love as they would of any other diſtemper, and " yet not able to get rid of it, but bound down by " it, as by a ſtronger tie of neceſſity, than if they " were bound in iron chains! They give themſelves " up therefore to thoſe they love, to ſerve them in " many odd and unaccountable ways, yet with all " their ſufferings they never attempt making their " eſcape, but keep continual watch upon their loves, " leſt they ſhould eſcape from them."

THE young man to this ſaid, " There are people, " ſaid he, indeed, that do theſe things, but, ſaid he, " they are miſerable wretches; and this I believe

" is

" is the reaſon why they are always wiſhing them-
" ſelves dead, as being wretched and unhappy, and
" though there are ten thouſand ways of parting
" with life, yet they don't part with it. Juſt ſuch
" wretches as theſe, are they that attempt thefts, and
" will not abſtain from what belongs to others, but
" when they have plundered and ſtolen any thing,
" you ſee, (ſaid he,) that you are the firſt that accuſe
" the thief and the plunderer, as reckoning theft to
" be no ſuch fatal neceſſary thing, and you do not
" pardon but puniſh it. So people that are beau-
" tiful do not neceſſitate others to love them, nor
" to covet what they ought not; but mean wretched
" men are impotent, I know, in all their paſſions,
" and then they accuſe love. Men excellent and
" worthy, though they have inclinations both for
" gold, fine horſes, and beautiful women, can yet
" with eaſe abſtain from any of them, ſo as not to
" touch them contrary to right; I therefore, (ſaid
he,) " who have ſeen this woman, and think her
" very beautiful, yet I am here attending upon you,
" and I am abroad on horſeback, and in all other
" reſpects I diſcharge my duty.

" BUT, by *Jove!* ſaid *Cyrus*, perhaps you retired
" before the time that love naturally lays hold of a
" man. It is the nature of fire not immediately
" to burn the man that touches it, and wood does
" not immediately blaze out; yet ſtill I am not
" willing either to meddle with fire, or to look at
" beautiful perſons: nor do I adviſe you, *Araſpes*,

" to let your eyes dwell long upon beauties; for " as fire burns thoſe that touch it, beauties catch " hold of thoſe that look at them, though at a diſtance, " and ſet them on fire with love."

" BE eaſy, (ſaid he,) *Cyrus*; though I look at " her without ceaſing, I will not be ſo conquered, " as to do any thing that I ought not. You ſpeak, (ſaid he,) " very handſomely, guard her therefore, (ſaid he,) " as I bid you, and be careful of her. " For, perhaps, this woman may be of ſervice to " us upon ſome occaſion or other." And having diſcourſed thus, they parted.

THE young man, partly by ſeeing the woman to be extremely beautiful, and by being apprized of her worth and goodneſs, partly by waiting upon her and ſerving her, with intention to pleaſe her, and partly by his finding her not to be ungrateful in return, but that ſhe took care, by her ſervants, that all things convenient ſhould be provided for him when he came in, and that he ſhould want nothing when he was ill; by all theſe means, he was made her captive in love; and, perhaps, what happened to him in this caſe, was what need not to be wondered at.

THUS were theſe things tranſacted.

BUT *Cyrus* deſigning that both the *Medes* and allies ſhould ſtay with him of their own accord, ſummoned together all the proper perſons; and when they were met, ſpoke to this effect. " *Medes*, and all " you that are here preſent, I know very well that

" you

" you came with me not out of any deſire of getting
" money, nor with the thought of ſerving *Cyaxares*
" by it; but you were willing to oblige me by it,
" and in honour to me, you reſolved to undertake a
" march by night, and to embark yourſelves in
" dangers and hazards with me; and if I am not
" very unjuſt, I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted
" to you for theſe things. But I do not think I am
" yet able to make you a due return of them. This
" I am not aſhamed to ſay. But that I will make
" you juſt returns, if you ſtay with me; this, be it
" known to you, I ſhould be aſhamed to tell you;
" for I ſhould think that it would look as if I ſaid
" this only to make you the more willing to ſtay
" with me. Inſtead of that therefore, I ſay this, if you
" now go away in obedience to *Cyaxares*, yet will I
" endeavour, if I act with ſucceſs, to deal by you
" in ſuch a manner, as ſhall make you applaud me.
" For my own part, I will not go, and the *Hyrca-*
" *nians*, to whom I have given my oath and my
" right-hand, I will ſtand by, I will not be caught
" betraying them. And for *Gobrias*, who delivers
" us up his fortreſs, his territory, and his whole
" force, I will endeavour to bring it about, that he
" ſhall not repent his journey to me; and, what is
" above all, when the gods ſo evidently deliver all
" theſe advantages into our hands, I ought to reve-
" rence them, and be aſhamed to make a raſh retreat
" and abandon all. Thus therefore, (ſaid he,) will
" I act;

" I act; do you as you judge proper, and tell me " what your mind is:" Thus he ſpoke.

AND he, who before had ſaid that he was related to *Cyrus*, replied, " As for me, (ſaid he,) O king! " for you I take to be as much by birth and nature " my king, as the particular bee in a hive is born the " leader of the bees: for that one they willingly " obey; where that remains, not one from thence " departs; that remove, not one of them is left " behind; ſo ſtrong is the affection they are inſpired " with to be governed by it. And men ſeem to me " to be almoſt exactly thus diſpoſed towards you. " For when you left us, and went into *Perſia*, what " *Mede*, either young or old, ſtaid behind, and did " not follow you, till *Aſtyages* made us turn back? " When you ſet out from *Perſia* to our aſſiſtance, " we again ſaw almoſt all your friends voluntarily " following you; and when you were deſirous to " undertake the expedition hither, all the *Medes* wil- " lingly attended you; and we now ſtand ſo diſpoſed, " as that, with you, though we are in an enemy's " country, we have courage, and without you we are " afraid even to go home. Let the reſt, therefore, " ſpeak for themſelves, and declare what they will " do. I *Cyrus*, and they that are under my com- " mand, will remain with you, and comforted with " the ſight of you, and ſupplied by your bounty, " we will undergo any thing, and bear it with " bravery."

UPON

Upon this, *Tygranes* spoke thus; "Do not at all "wonder, (said he,) *Cyrus*, if I am silent; for my "soul, (said he,) is not prepared for advising "you, but for executing what you command."

Then the *Hyrcanian* said, "For my part, O "*Medes!* if you now go away, I should say it were "the pleasure of some deity not to suffer you to be "highly fortunate and happy. For what human "creature can determine for turning back when the "enemies are flying? Or when they deliver "their arms, would refuse to accept them? Or "when they deliver up themselves, and all that be-"longs to them, would refuse to receive them? "Especially when we have such a leader, as, in my "opinion, and I swear it to you by all the gods! "is more pleased with doing us good, than with en-"riching himself?" Upon this, the *Medes* all said thus, "You, O *Cyrus!* have led us out, and do you, "when you think it proper to retire, lead us back "again with you."

CYRUS having heard these things, made this prayer:

"But do thou, greatest *Jove!* I beg thee, grant "me to exceed in good offices, those that pay me "such honour!"

Upon this, he ordered the rest to place their guards, and attend to the care of themselves. But the *Persians* he ordered to take possession of their tents; the horsemen such as were proper for them, and the foot such as were sufficient for the foot;

and he ordered things to be regulated, that they who were in the tents, diſpatching the buſineſs there, ſhould bring all neceſſaries to the *Perſians* in their ranks, and ſee that the horſes were taken care of, that the *Perſians* might have no other work to do but the buſineſs of war. — This day they thus paſſed.

And the next morning when they aroſe, they marched to join *Gobrias*. *Cyrus* marched on horſeback, as did alſo the *Perſian* horſemen, who were about two thouſand. They who held the ſhields and the ſwords of theſe men followed after them, being equal to them in number; and the reſt of the army marched in order of battle. He ordered every one to tell their new ſervants, that whoever of them ſhould be ſeen either behind the rear-guard, or before the front, or ſhould be caught on the outſide of thoſe that were in their ranks upon either wing, ſhould be puniſhed. On the ſecond day, towards the evening, they reached the habitation of *Gobrias*. They ſaw it to be an exceeding ſtrong fortreſs, and that all things were provided upon the walls proper for a vigorous defence, and they ſaw abundance of oxen and ſheep brought under the fortifications. *Gobrias* then ſending to *Cyrus*, bid him ride round, and ſee where the acceſs was moſt eaſy, and ſend in to him ſome of thoſe that he confided in, who having ſeen how things ſtood within, might give him an account of them. So *Cyrus*, deſiring in reality to ſee if the fortreſs might be taken on any ſide, or whether

whether *Gobrias* might be diſcovered to be falſe, rode round on every ſide, but ſaw every part too ſtrong to be approached. They that *Cyrus* ſent in to *Gobrias*, brought him an account, that there was ſuch plenty of all good things within, as could not (as they thought) not even in the age of a man, come to fail the people that were there. *Cyrus* was under concern about what all this might mean; but *Gobrias* himſelf came out to him, and brought out all his men; ſome carrying wine, ſome meal, and others driving oxen, ſheep, hogs, and goats, and of every thing that was eatable; they brought ſufficient to furniſh a handſome ſupper for the whole army that was with *Cyrus*. They that were appointed to this ſervice, made diſtribution of all theſe things, and they all ſupped. But *Gobrias*, when all his men were come out, bid *Cyrus* enter in the manner that he thought the moſt ſafe. *Cyrus*, therefore, ſending in before certain people to view and ſearch into things, and a force with them, then entered himſelf; and when he was got in, keeping the gates open, he ſummoned all his friends and the commanders that had attended him; and when they were come in, *Gobrias* producing cups of gold and veſſels of various kinds, all manner of furniture and apparel, daricks without number, and magnificent things of all kinds, and at laſt bringing out his daughter (who was aſtoniſhingly beautiful and tall, but in affliction upon the death of her brother) ſpoke thus:

" *CYRUS*, all theſe treaſures I give you, and " this daughter of mine I intruſt you with, to diſ- " poſe of as you think fit; but we are both of us " your ſupplicants. I, before, that you would be " the revenger of my ſon; and ſhe, now, that you " would be the revenger of her brother."

CYRUS to this ſaid, " I promiſed you then, that " if you were not falſe to us, I would revenge you " to the utmoſt of my power; and now that I find " you true to us, I am under the obligation of that " promiſe. And I now promiſe her, with the help " of the gods, to perform it. Theſe treaſures (ſaid he,) " I accept, but give them to this your daugh- " ter, and to the man that ſhall marry her. But I " go off with one preſent from you, that I could not " go off with more pleaſure with the treaſures of " *Babylon*, where there are abundance; nor even " with thoſe of the whole world, were they to be " exchanged for this, that you have now preſented " me with."

GOBRIAS wondering what it ſhould be, and ſuſpecting that he meant his daughter, aſked him thus, " O *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) what is it?"

THEN *Cyrus* replied, " *Gobrias!* (ſaid he,) it is " this. I believe there may be abundance of men, " that would not be guilty either of impiety, in- " juſtice, or falſhood; and yet becauſe nobody will " throw either treaſures or power, or ſtrong fortreſſes, " or lovely children in their way, die before it comes " to appear what they were. But you, by having

" now

" now put into my hands both ſtrong fortreſſes, and
" riches of all kinds, your whole force and your
" daughter, who is ſo valuable a poſſeſſion, have
" made me clearly appear to all men, to be one
" that would neither be guilty of impiety towards
" friends that receive and entertain me, nor of in-
" juſtice for the ſake of treaſure, nor willingly falſe
" to faith in compacts. This, therefore, be you
" aſſured, I will not forget, while I am a juſt man,
" and while, as ſuch, I receive the applauſe of men,
" but I will endeavour to make you returns of ho-
" nour in all things great and noble; and do not be
" afraid of wanting a huſband for your daughter, and
" ſuch a one as ſhall be worthy of her; for I have
" many excellent friends, and amongſt them, who-
" ever it is that marries her, whether he will have
" either as much treaſure as you have given, or a great
" deal more, I am not able to ſay; but be aſſured,
" that there are ſome of them, who for all the trea-
" ſures you have beſtowed, do not upon that account
" eſteem you one jot the more. But they are at this
" time my rivals, they ſupplicate all the gods, that
" they may have an opportunity of ſhewing them-
" ſelves, that they are not leſs faithful to their friends
" than I am, that while alive they will never yield to
" their enemies, unleſs ſome god ſhould blaſt their
" endeavours, and that for virtue and good reputa-
" tion, they would not accept of all the treaſures of
" the *Syrians* and *Aſſyrians* added unto yours. Such
" men, be you aſſured, are ſitting here."

GOBRIAS

GOBRIAS ſmiling at this, "By the gods! ſaid he, "*Cyrus!* pray ſhew me where theſe men are, that "I may beg one of them of you to be my ſon." "Do "not trouble yourſelf, ſaid he, it will not be at all "neceſſary for you to enquire that of me. If you "will but attend us, you yourſelf will be able to ſhew "them every one to any body elſe."

AND having ſaid this, he took *Gobrias* by the right hand, roſe, went out, and brought out all that were with him; and, though *Gobrias* repeatedly deſired him to take his ſupper within, yet he would not do it, but ſupped in the camp, and took *Gobrias* to ſup with him. After he had lain himſelf down on a mat-traſs, he aſked him thus: "Tell me, ſaid he, *Gobri-as*, whether do you think that you, or we, here, "have the greateſt plenty of furniture for couches?" He replied, "By *Jove*, I know very well, that you "have the furniture of this kind in greateſt abun-"dance, and couches too in greater number; and "then your habitations are much larger than mine, "for you have heaven and earth for a habitation, and "couches you have, as many as there are places upon "the earth, to lie on; and for their furniture, you do "not only think that you have as much of it as there "grows of wool upon the backs of ſheep, but as much "as there is of ſtubble and bruſhwood, that the "mountains and plains produce."

BUT *Gobrias* then ſupping with him for the firſt time, and obſerving the coarſeneſs of the meats that were ſet before them, thought that they themſelves lived

lived in a much nobler manner than theſe peole. But he afterwards conſidered their great temperance, for no diſciplined *Perſian* ever appeared ſtruck with any ſort of meats or drink, either by eagerneſs in his eyes, or by greedineſs, or by any ſuch intenſeneſs of mind as not to give the ſame attention to things, as if he were not taken up in eating. But as good horſemen, by keeping themſelves eaſy and undiſturbed on horſe-back, are able at the ſame time to ſee, to hear, and to ſpeak what is proper; ſo they think, that while they are at their food, they ought to appear diſcreet and temperate; and to be much moved with any ſort of meat, or drink, they take to be hoggiſh and brutal. He conſidered likewiſe their manner of converſe, in aſking each other ſuch queſtions as were more agreeable to be aſked than not; in jeſting with each other in ſuch a manner, as was more pleaſing than if let alone; and of their ſporting with each other, but ſo as to keep at the greateſt diſtance from being abuſive, or from doing any thing indecent and ugly, and from giving one another offence. But what ſeemed to him to be above all, was, that men engaged in military ſervice, ſhould think, that none of thoſe engaged in the ſame dangers, ſhould be ſerved with greater plenty than others, but they reckoned it their nobleſt feaſt, to provide in the beſt manner for thoſe that were to be their fellow combatants. And when *Gobrias* roſe up to go to his houſe, he is reported to have ſaid:

" IT is no longer a wonder to me, *Cyrus*, that we " poſſeſs thoſe fine veſſels, gold, and rich habits, in " greater abundance than you do, and that we are " much leſs deſerving than you are; for we do our " endeavours to obtain as many of theſe things as we " can, and your endeavours are to make yourſelves " the moſt excellent men!" Thus he ſpoke, and *Cyrus* ſaid, " Take care, *Gobrias*, to attend in the " morning with your horſe, ready in arms, that we " may ſee your force, and at the ſame time that you " may conduct us through your territory, that we " may know what we are to reckon belonging to our " friends, and what to our enemies."

AND having thus diſcourſed, they parted, each retiring to his proper buſineſs.

WHEN day came, *Gobrias* attended with his horſe, and led them the way. But *Cyrus*, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his preſent march, but as he advanced conſidered whether it was in his power, by any means to diſtreſs and weaken the enemy, and to ſtrengthen themſelves. Calling therefore the *Hyrcanians* and *Gobrias* to him, (for he judged that theſe underſtood beſt the things that he thought it neceſſary for him to be informed of,) " My " friends, (ſaid he,) I do not think that I am in the " wrong, when I conſult with you upon the ſubject of " this war, as with men that are faithful and true. " For I find, that it is more your buſineſs, than mine, " to take care that the *Aſſyrian* do not get the better of " us: I, perhaps, though I fail in my undertaking

" here,

" here, may yet have a farther reſource; but if he " get the better, I ſee that all is loſt for you. He " is indeed my enemy, but not out of any hatred he " bears me, but becauſe he thinks it a damage to him- " ſelf, that we ſhould be conſiderable, and this was " the reaſon he made war upon us; but you he " hates, and by you he thinks himſelf unjuſtly dealt " with." To this they both anſwered, " That he " ſhould proceed as he intended, and as concluding " that they were convinced of what he ſaid, and under " the greateſt care and concern for the turn that the " preſent ſtate of their affairs might take." Here then he thus began: " Tell me, (ſaid he,) does the " *Aſſyrian* think that you are the only people at en- " mity with him, or do you know any body elſe that " is his enemy?" " Yes, by *Jove*, ſaid the *Hyrcanian*, " the *Caduſians* are his enemies in the higheſt degree, " and are a ſtrong and numerous people. The *Sacians* " too, that are our borderers, and who have under- " gone a great many hardſhips under the *Aſſyrian*, " (for he endeavoured to ſubdue them as he did us.") " Do not you think therefore, (ſaid he,) that they " would both, with pleaſure, fall upon the *Aſſyrian* in " conjunction with us?" " With a great deal of plea- " ſure, (ſaid they,) if they could join us." " What " is there then between, (ſaid he,) to hinder our join- " ing?" " The *Aſſyrians*, (ſaid they,) the very nation " that you are now marching through."

AFTER *Cyrus* had heard this, " Well, *Gobrias*, (ſaid " he,) do not you charge this young man, that is now

" eſtabliſhed

" eſtabliſhed as king, with great pride, and inſolence
" of temper?" " Yes, (ſaid *Gobrias*,) for I have ſuf-
" fered by him accordingly." " And has he then,
" (ſaid *Cyrus*,) been ſo only to you? or has he been
" ſo to others beſides?" " By *Jove*, (ſaid *Gobrias*,)
" to many others: But what need I mention the
" wrongs he has done to the inconſiderable! There's
" one man abundantly more powerful than myſelf,
" whoſe ſon, being his companion, as mine was, and
" drinking with him at his own houſe, he took and
" caſtrated; becauſe, as ſome ſay, his courteſan had
" commended him as a handſome man, and pro-
" nounced that woman happy that was to be his wife.
" But, as he himſelf now ſays, it was becauſe he had
" made an attempt upon his courtezan. This man is
" now an eunuch, and ſince the death of his father,
" holds that government." " Do not you think,
" therefore, (ſaid he,) that this man would ſee us
" with pleaſure, if he thought we would ſupport
" him?" " I know it very well, (ſaid *Gobrias*.) But
" to come at the ſight of him, *Cyrus*, is a difficult
" matter." " How ſo?" (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " Becauſe, if
" any one has a mind to join him, one muſt paſs by
" *Babylon* itſelf." " And what difficulty then is
" there in this?" " The difficulty, by *Jove*, (ſaid
" *Gobrias*,) is, that the forces that belong to that
" place alone, I know to be much greater than thoſe
" you have at preſent with you, and be aſſured, that
" the *Aſſyrians* are now leſs forward than before to
" bring you arms and horſes, for this reaſon, that
" your

" your force appears to be but little to thoſe that have
" had a view of it; and the diſcourſe of this has been
" already much ſpread abroad among them. So it
" ſeems to me, (ſaid he,) to be beſt for us to be upon
" our guard, and cautious as to our march."

CYRUS, hearing this from *Gobrias*, ſpoke to him in this manner:

" IN my opinion, *Gobrias*, you ſay very well, when
" you bid us take the ſafeſt courſe we can, with re-
" ſpect to our march; and therefore, upon conſidera-
" tion, I am not able to find, that any other march is
" ſafer for us than that to *Babylon* itſelf, if the prin-
" cipal ſtrength of the enemy lies there: for you
" ſay they are very numerous; and if they are in
" heart, then I ſay they will be terrible to us. By not
" ſeeing us, therefore, and by imagining that it is our
" fear of them that keeps us from appearing, be aſ-
" ſured, (ſaid he,) that they will be releaſed from the
" fear that has been upon them; courage will ſpring
" up in its ſtead, and a courage that will be ſo much
" the greater, as they are the longer without ſeeing
" us. If we march inſtantly up to them, we ſhall
" find many of them lamenting for thoſe that we have
" killed, many ſtill bound up, by reaſon of the wounds
" they received from our people, and all of them ſtill
" well remembering the boldneſs of this army, as well
" as their own misfortune and flight. And be aſſured,
" *Gobrias*! of this beſides, that a multitude, when
" they are in heart, raiſe in themſelves ſuch a cou-
" rage, as nothing can withſtand; but when they are in

fear,

" fear, they bring upon themſelves ſuch a terror, as is
" the greater, and ſtrikes upon them ſo much the
" more, as they are the more in number. For it falls
" upon them, increaſed by numerous ſtories of miſ-
" fortune; and gathers to a head from many unhap-
" py circumſtances, and from multitudes of dejected
" and aſtoniſhed looks. So that it grows to ſuch a
" height, that it is no eaſy matter, either to ſuppreſs
" it by any diſcourſe, or to raiſe a ſpirit by leading
" to the enemy, or to nurſe up a courage, by retreat-
" ing; but the more you exhort them to confidence,
" they imagine themſelves to be in ſo much the more
" dangerous circumſtances. And now let us examine
" ſtrictly into this particular farther. And, indeed,
" if victories, from henceforward, are acts to be per-
" formed only by that party that can reckon the great-
" eſt numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and
" we are in reality in dangerous circumſtances. But
" if engagements, as heretofore they have been, are
" ſtill decided by good combatants, you will not be
" at all in the wrong to be of good heart; for, with
" the help of the gods, you will find more amongſt
" us that are forward to engage, than amongſt them.
" And that you may be ſtill more in heart, conſider
" this; that the enemies are at this time much weaker
" than they were before they were beaten by us, and
" ſtill weaker than when they fled from us; but we
" are more in vigour ſince we have been victorious,
" and ſtronger ſince you have joined us. For, do not
" ſtill think contemptuouſly of your people, now that

" they

" they are with us; for be aſſured, *Gobrias*, that they
" that attend the victorious follow with confidence:
" Nor let this eſcape your notice, (ſaid he,) that the
" enemy is now at full liberty to ſee us, but we can-
" not by any means make our appearance with
" greater terror to them, than by our marching up
" to them. As this therefore is my fixed opinion,
" do you lead us directly the way to *Babylon*."

So marching on they reached the boundaries of *Gobrias*'s territory upon the fourth day. When he was got into the enemy's country he took the foot to himſelf, and as many of the horſe as he thought proper, and formed them; the reſt of the horſe he ſent out upon excurſions: He ordered them to kill thoſe that were in arms, but to bring the reſt to him, together with whatever ſheep or cattle they ſhould take. He ordered out the *Perſians* likewiſe upon this ſervice with the others; and many of them returned, after having got falls from their horſes, but many of them brought off conſiderable booty. When the booty arrived, and that he had called together the commanders of the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* together with the alike-honoured, he ſpoke thus:

" *GOBRIAS*, my friend, has entertained us all
" with good things in great abundance; therefore,
(ſaid he,) " after having taken out what is due to
" the gods, and what will be ſufficient for the army,
" if we ſhould give the remainder of the booty to
" him, we ſhould do a handſome thing, by making

" it immediately appear, that we endeavour in be-
" nefits to exceed our benefactors."

When they had heard this, they all commended and applauded it, and one of them ſpoke thus: " This
" we will do, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) by all means; for I
" believe, (ſaid he,) that *Gobrias* took us for beg-
" garly people, becauſe we came not with *Daricks* in
" abundance, and do not drink out of golden cups;
" but if we do this that you propoſe, he may then
" underſtand that it is poſſible to be generous even
" without gold." " Go then, (ſaid he,) and having
" delivered to the Mages what is due to the gods,
" and taken what is ſufficient for the army, call
" *Gobrias*, and give him the remainder."

So theſe men, having taken as much as was proper, gave the reſt to *Gobrias*. Upon this he marched on to *Babylon* itſelf, making the ſame diſpoſition as when he fought. And the *Aſſyrians* declining to come out againſt him, *Cyrus* commanded *Gobrias* to ride on before, and to declare, that if the king was willing to come out, and fight for his territory, he would fight him; but if he would not defend his territory, that then of neceſſity he was to ſubmit to his conquerors. *Gobrias*, riding on as far it was ſafe, notified theſe things; and the other ſent out one to return him an anſwer in this manner:

" *GOBRIAS*, your ſovereign ſays to you thus:
" That I have killed your ſon, I do not repent; but
" I repent that I have not killed you likewiſe. If
" you would fight, come hither upon the thirtieth
" day

" day from hence; we are at this time not at leiſure,
" for we are yet employed in our preparations."

THEN *Gobrias* ſaid, " May that repentance never
" quit you; for it is plain I am a torment to you,
" from the moment that this repentance takes place.

GOBRIAS brought back the meſſage from the *Aſſyrian*; and *Cyrus* having heard it, drew off the army, and calling *Gobrias* to him, " Tell me, (ſaid he,) " did not you ſay, that you thought a certain " perſon, who had been caſtrated by the *Aſſyrian*, " would take part with us?" " I think I know it " very well, (ſaid he,) for he and I have often con- " ferred together with great freedom." " When " you think it proper, therefore, do you go to " him; and in the firſt place you muſt manage ſo " as to know what he ſays upon the ſubject, and " when you have conferred with him, if you find " him inclined to be our friend, you muſt then con- " trive, that his friendſhip for us may be kept con- " cealed; for no one can by any other means do " greater ſervice to his friends in war, than by ap- " pearing to be their enemy; nor can he by any " other means do greater miſchief to his enemy, " than by appearing to be their friend." " I know " indeed, (ſaid *Gobrias*,) that *Gadatas* would pay any " price to do ſome conſiderable miſchief to the *Aſ-* " *ſyrian* king; but then we muſt conſider what it is " that he can do." " Tell me, then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " that fortreſs, that lies upon the frontier of this " country, and that you ſay was built as a barrier

" and defence to it in war againſt the *Hyrcanians* and " *Sacians*; do you think, (ſaid he,) that the com- " mander of it would admit the eunuch into it, if " he came thither with his forces?" " Certainly, (ſaid *Gobrias*,) " if he came unſuſpected, as now he " is." " Therefore, (ſaid he,) he would ſtand the " cleareſt from all ſuſpicion, if I ſhould fall upon " the places that are in his poſſeſſion, as intending " to make myſelf maſter of them, and he ſhould " act with his forces againſt me; if I ſhould take " ſomething of his, and he on the other ſide ſhould " take either ſome others of our people, or ſome of " thoſe meſſengers that I ſend to ſuch people as you " ſay are enemies to the *Aſſyrian*, and if the people " ſo taken declare that they were going to get forces, " and to fetch ladders for the attack of the fortreſs, " and if the eunuch then pretend, that upon hearing " theſe things he attended him with intention to give " him an account of them."——

THEN *Gobrias* ſaid, " If theſe things are thus " tranſacted, I know very well that he would admit " him, and would beg him to ſtay till you were " gone." And then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) if he were once " got in, could not he give up the fortreſs into " our hands?" " Very probably, (ſaid *Gobrias*,) if he " prepared matters within, and you brought a con- " ſiderable ſtrength upon them from without." " Go " then, (ſaid he,) and after you have given him your " inſtructions, and accompliſhed theſe matters, en- " deavour to be here with us again; but as for his

" ſecuri-

"securities of our keeping faith with him, I desire "you would neither mention nor intimate to him "any greater than those that you yourself received "from us."

UPON this *Gobrias* went his way. The eunuch seeing him, with great pleasure consented in every thing, and settled with him the things that were proper to be done.

AND when *Gobrias* brought back an account that the whole business of his errand was firmly settled and agreed with the eunuch, then the next day *Cyrus* fell in upon him. *Gadatas* defended himself against the attack; the place that *Cyrus* took was that that *Gadatas* had appointed; of the messengers that *Cyrus* sent, directing them before-hand which way they should go, some *Gadatas* suffered to escape, that they might bring forces and fetch ladders; but those that he took he put to the torture before a great many people, and when he had heard what they declared to be the business they went about, he immediately prepared all things, and marched in the night, as intending to go and give an account of it. To conclude, he was trusted, and he entered the fortress as an assistant, in the defence of it. For a while he concurred with the governor in all preparations as far as he was able; but when *Cyrus* came up he seized the fortress, making the prisoners he had taken from *Cyrus* his assistants in the work.

WHEN this was done, the eunuch *Gadatas*, having settled matters within, came out immediately to *Cyrus*,

and having paid him his adoration in the accuſtomed manner, he ſaid: "Happineſs! O *Cyrus*, and joy to "you!" "I have it, (ſaid he,) already; for, with the "help of the gods! you not only beſpeak joy to me, "but you oblige me to rejoice; for be aſſured, (ſaid he,) "I take it to be a thing of great importance "to leave this place to my friends and allies in theſe "parts. Your having of children, *Gadatas*, is what "the *Aſſyrian*, it ſeems, has taken from you, but the "power of acquiring friends he has not deprived you "of; and be aſſured, that by this action you have "made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are "able, to be as good ſupports to you, as if you had "ſons or poſterity."—Thus he ſpoke.

Upon this the *Hyrcanian*, who had juſt got notice of what had happened, ran to *Cyrus*, and taking him by the right hand ſaid, "O how great a bleſſing, "*Cyrus*, are you to your friends! what a debt of "gratitude and thanks do you bring me under to "the gods, for having united me to you!" "Go "then preſently, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) and take poſſeſſion of "the place you are ſo pleaſed with me for, and diſ-"poſe of it in ſuch a manner as it may be of moſt "advantage to your own nation, and to our other "allies, but chiefly (ſaid he) to *Gadatas* here, who "has taken it and delivered it up to us." "There-"fore, (ſaid the *Hyrcanian*,) when the *Caduſians*, the "*Sacians*, and my countrymen are come, ſhall we "call in this man too, that all we who are concerned "may conſult in common how we may make uſe of

"this

"this fortreſs to the beſt advantage?" *Cyrus* applauded the propoſal, and when all that were concerned in the affair of this fortreſs were met, they jointly determined that it ſhould be kept by thoſe who had an advantage by its being in their intereſt, that it might be a bulwark and defence to them, and their rampart againſt the *Aſſyrians*.

WHEN this was done, the *Caduſians* engaged with much more readineſs and zeal in the ſervice, as did likewiſe the *Sacians* and *Hyrcanians*; and from that time, there was formed an army of *Caduſians*, conſiſting of twenty thouſand ſhield-men, and four thouſand horſe; of *Sacians*, an army conſiſting of ten thouſand bowmen on foot, and two thouſand on horſeback: the *Hyrcanians* ſent out all the foot that they were able, and filled up their horſe to the number of two thouſand. For moſt of their horſe were at firſt left behind, becauſe the *Caduſians* and *Sacians* were enemies to the *Aſſyrians*. And all the time that *Cyrus* lay employed about the regulating this fortreſs, many of the *Aſſyrians* in thoſe parts brought horſes, and many brought arms, being afraid of all their neighbours.

UPON this, *Gadatas* comes to *Cyrus*, and tells him, that there were meſſengers arrived, who told him, "That the *Aſſyrian*, when he was informed of what "had paſſed in the affair of the fortreſs, was ex-"tremely incenſed, and made preparations to fall "in upon his territory. Therefore, *Cyrus*, if you "would diſmiſs me, I would endeavour to ſave my

" places of ſtrength; of the reſt I make leſs ac-
" count." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " If you ſet out now,
" when ſhall you be at home?" And *Gadatas* ſaid,
" I ſhall ſup in my own territory the third day."
" And do you think, (ſaid he,) that you will find
" the *Aſſyrian* already there?" " I know very well,
(ſaid he,) " that I ſhall, for he will make ſo much
" the more haſte, as he thinks you to be at the
" greater diſtance." " And in how many days, (ſaid
Cyrus,) " might I get thither with the army?" To
this *Gadatas* ſaid, " O my ſovereign, you have a
" very good army, and you would not be able to
" reach my habitation in leſs than ſix or ſeven days."
" Do you then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) go your ways as ſoon as
" you can, and I will march with all poſſible diſpatch."

GADATAS then went his way, and *Cyrus* called together all the commanders of his allies, and he ſeemed now to have a great many, and full of courage; and in their preſence he ſpoke to this effect: " Friends and allies! *Gadatas* has performed
" ſuch things as we all judge to be of very great va-
" lue to us, and this before he has received the leaſt
" advantage whatever at our hands. It is reported,
" that the *Aſſyrian* is now fallen in upon his territory;
" with deſign, as is evident, both to be revenged of
" him, becauſe he thinks himſelf to have been highly
" injured by him, and perhaps he conſiders with-all,
" that if they that revolt to us receive no hurt or
" damage from him, and if they that take part
" with him, are deſtroyed by us, he muſt
" probably

" probably very ſoon have no body that will ſtand
" by him. Therefore, friends! we ſhall do, in my
" opinion, a very handſome thing, if we yield our
" aſſiſtance, with readineſs and zeal, to *Gadatas*, a
" man who has been our benefactor; we ſhould
" beſides do an act of juſtice, by diſcharging a debt of
" gratitude; and, in my opinion, we ſhould, at the
" ſame time, do what would be of advantage to
" ourſelves: for if we make it appear, that we en-
" deavour to outdo in injuries, thoſe that are injurious
" and hurtful to us, and to exceed our benefactors
" in good ſervices, it is probable, that, by means of
" ſuch a conduct, many will be willing to be friends
" to us, and no body will deſire to be our enemy.
" But if we appear neglectful of *Gadatas*, in the
" name of all the gods! with what arguments can
" we perſuade others to do us any kindneſſes? How
" can we dare to commend ourſelves? and how can
" any of us poſſibly look *Gadatas* in the face, if we
" are outdone by him in good offices? we who are
" ſo many, by him who is a ſingle man, and a man
" in ſuch circumſtances."

THUS he ſpoke, and they all highly approved it.—
" Come on, then, (ſaid he,) ſince you agree with me
" in opinion. Let every man of us leave with the
" carriages and with the beaſts of burthen, all thoſe
" that are the propereſt to march with them, and let
" *Gobrias* command and conduct them; for he is
" ſkilled in the roads, and able in every other reſpect.
" Let us march with the beſt of our men and horſe,

" taking

" taking neceſſaries with us for three days. And " the lighter and more frugal proviſion we make, " the pleaſanter ſhall we dine and ſup; and the " pleaſanter ſhall we ſleep on the days that follow " after. Now let our march be in this manner; " let *Chryſantas*, in the firſt place, lead thoſe that " wear corſelets, with all the centurions in front, " ſince the way is level and open; and let each " century march one by one in a line: for by keep- " ing in cloſe order we ſhall march with the more " diſpatch and the more ſafety. And it is for this " reaſon that I order thoſe that have corſelets to " lead, becauſe they make the heavieſt part of the " army; and when the heavieſt lead the way, of " neceſſity all the lighter follow with eaſe: but when " the lighter and nimbler part leads in the night, it " is not at all to be wondered at, that the forces " diſperſe; for the body that is at the head runs off " from the reſt. After theſe, (ſaid he,) let *Arta-* " *bazus* lead the *Perſian* ſhield-men and archers: " after theſe let *Andranicas* the *Mede* lead the *Median* " foot: after theſe, *Embas*, the *Armenian* foot: after " theſe, *Artuchas*, the *Hyrcanians*: after theſe, *Tham-* " *brydas*, the *Sacian* foot: after theſe, *Damatas*, the " *Caduſians*. Let all theſe lead with their centurions " in front, and with their ſhield-men upon the " right, and their archers upon the left of their own " oblong bodies; for by marching in this manner " they are the more ready for ſervice. After theſe, (ſaid he,) " let the baggage-ſervants of the whole

" army

" army follow. Let their commanders take care of
" them all, that they have all things ready put up
" before they ſleep; that they attend early in the
" morning in their appointed poſts, and follow in
" an orderly manner. After the baggage-ſervants,
(ſaid he,) " let *Maïdatas*, the *Perſian*, lead the *Perſian*
" horſe, and let him likewiſe have the centurions
" of horſe in front; and let the centurion lead his
" century in a line one after another, in the ſame
" manner as the officers of foot. After theſe, let
" *Rambacas*, the *Mede*, lead his horſe in the ſame
" manner. After theſe, do you, *Tygranes*, lead your
" horſe; and ſo the reſt of the commanders of horſe,
" the horſe that each of them joined us with. After
" theſe, let the *Sacians* march, and the *Caduſians* as
" they came in to us the laſt; ſo let them bring
" up the rear of the whole army. And do you,
" *Alceuna*, that command them, take care to be in
" the rear of all, and do not ſuffer any to be behind
" your horſe. And do you commanders, and all
" you that are wiſe, take care to march ſilently;
" for it is by means of the ears rather than the
" eyes that all things muſt of neceſſity be diſco-
" vered and tranſacted in the night. And to be
" put into diſorder, is a thing of worſe conſequence
" than in the day, and more difficult to be recovered.
" For this reaſon, ſilence muſt be practiſed, and order
" preſerved. And when you are to ſettle the night-
" watches, you ought always to make them as ſhort,
" and as many as is poſſible, that much watching

" upon the night-guard may not exhauſt and diſable
" any one for the march; and when the time comes
" for marching, the ſignal muſt be given by the
" ſound of the horn. And do you all attend ready
" upon the road to *Babylon*, each of you with all
" things proper. And let him that advances before
" always exhort the man behind him to follow."

Upon this, they went to their tents, and in going diſcourſed among themſelves how great a memory *Cyrus* had, and how he gave his orders, naming all the perſons that he gave directions to. This *Cyrus* did out of his great care and exactneſs; for he thought it very ſtrange, that mean artificers ſhould each of them know the names of the tools belonging to their art; and that a phyſician ſhould know the names of all the medicines and inſtruments that he uſes; but that a general ſhould be ſuch a fool, as not to know the names of the commanders that are under him, and that he muſt neceſſarily uſe as his inſtruments. And whenever he had a mind to poſſeſs himſelf of any thing, or to preſerve it, when he had a mind to raiſe courage, or to ſtrike a terror, or when he had a mind to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to call the men by their names. And he was of opinion, that they who thought themſelves known to their commander, would be the more deſirous to be ſeen performing ſome noble action, and more zealous to abſtain from doing any thing that was baſe. He thought it very fooliſh, when one had a mind that any thing ſhould

be

be done, to give orders as ſome maſters in their private families give theirs; let ſome body go for water! let ſome body cleave the wood! for when ſuch orders were given, he thought that all looked one upon another, and that no body diſpatched the thing that was ordered, and that all were in fault, yet no body was aſhamed or afraid, becauſe the blame was ſhared amongſt ſeveral. For theſe reaſons he named all the perſons when he gave his orders. This was *Cyrus*'s judgment in this matter.

THE ſoldiers having taken their ſuppers, ſettled their watches, and put up all things that were proper, went to reſt. When it was midnight the ſignal was given by the ſound of the horn; and *Cyrus* having told *Chryſantas* that he would wait on the road upon the front of the army, went off, taking his ſervants with him. In a ſhort time after *Chryſantas* came up at the head of thoſe that wore corſelets. *Cyrus* therefore giving him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a meſſenger came to him; for they were not yet all upon the march. He ſtanding in the ſame place, diſmiſſed away in order thoſe that came up, and ſent off to call forward thoſe that were dilatory. When they were all upon the march he ſent certain horſemen to *Chryſantas*, to tell him, that all were now upon the march. Lead on therefore with more diſpatch! He himſelf on horſeback putting forward towards the van-front, obſerved at leiſure the ſeveral bodies, and thoſe that he ſaw marching orderly and ſilently he rode up to, and

enquired

enquired who they were; and when he was informed he commended them: but if he perceived any of them to be tumultuous, he enquired into the cauſe of it, and endeavoured to allay the diſturbance.

THERE is only one part of his care in the night that has been omitted; which is, that at the head of the whole army, he ſent out certain light and expeditious foot, not many in number, that *Chryſantas* was to keep within the reach of his eye, and who were to keep *Chryſantas* within the reach of theirs; who getting notices of things by the ear, or if by any other means able to receive any intelligence, were to ſignify to *Chryſantas* what the occaſion ſeemed to require. There was one commander over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy notice, and what was not ſo, he gave no diſturbance by the telling. And thus he marched in the night.

BUT when it was day, he left the *Caduſian* horſe with the *Caduſian* foot, becauſe they marched the laſt, and that they might not march naked without horſe. But the reſt of the horſe he ordered to puſh forward to the front, becauſe the enemy were before them, and that in caſe any oppoſed him, he might meet and engage them with his forces in order under him; and that if any were ſeen flying, he might be in the greateſt readineſs for the purſuit. And he had always ready in order both thoſe that were to purſue, if purſuit was proper, as well as thoſe that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never ſuffered to be broke. Thus *Cyrus*

led

led the army. He himſelf was not always in the ſame ſtation, but riding about here and there kept viewing, and where any thing was deficient took care of it.

THUS did *Cyrus*'s men march. But a certain perſon, one of authority and conſideration, belonging to *Gadatas*'s body of horſe, as ſoon as he ſaw that he had revolted from the *Aſſyrian*, concluded that if any misfortune happened to *Gadatas*, he himſelf might obtain from the *Aſſyrian* all that belonged to *Gadatas*. So he ſent one of the moſt truſty of his people to the *Aſſyrian*. And he ordered the man that went, if he found the *Aſſyrian* army already in *Gadatas*'s territory, to tell the *Aſſyrian*, that if he would form an ambuſcade, he might take *Gadatas* and all that were with him. He ordered the man to tell what force *Gadatas* had, and that *Cyrus* did not go with him. And he told him the road that he intended to take. Beſides, that he might be the more readily truſted, he ſent orders to his ſervants, to deliver up to the *Aſſyrian* the fort that he had the poſſeſſion of in the territory of *Gadatas*, and all that was in it. He ſaid that he would come himſelf, and if he was able, it ſhould be after he had killed *Gadatas*; but if he could not do that, it ſhould be to attend the *Aſſyrian* for the future. When the perſon appointed for this ſervice, having rode with all poſſible ſpeed, was come to the *Aſſyrian*, and had declared the purpoſe of his coming, the *Aſſyrian*, having heard it, immediately ſeized the fort; and

having

having a great force both of horſe and chariots, he lay in ambuſcade in certain villages that ſtood very cloſe together. *Gadatas*, as ſoon as he approached theſe villages, ſent ſome people to examine and make diſcovery. The *Aſſyrian*, when he found theſe diſcoverers approaching, ordered two or three chariots and a few horſe to quit their poſt and betake themſelves to flight, as being terrified, and but few in number. The diſcoverers themſelves, as ſoon as they ſaw this, purſued, and made ſigns to *Gadatas*. He, being thus deceived, purſued with all his might. The *Aſſyrians*, when they thought *Gadatas* within reach of being taken, broke out from their ambuſcade. They that were with *Gadatas* ſeeing this fled, as was natural for them to do; the others likewiſe, as was natural, purſued: Upon this, the contriver of this affair againſt *Gadatas* ſtruck at him, but miſſed the mortal blow, hit him upon the ſhoulder and wounded him; and having done this, he made off to join the purſuers. When it was known who he was, he, preſſing his horſe on with a great deal of zeal in company with the *Aſſyrians*, attended the purſuit with the king. It is plain, that upon this occaſion they that had the ſloweſt horſes were taken by thoſe that had the fleeteſt; and all *Gadatas*'s horſe having before been harraſſed by their march, were quite ſpent. When they ſaw *Cyrus* advancing with his army, one muſt needs think they made up to them with as much joy and pleaſure as if they were entering a harbour after a ſtorm.

CYRUS was at firſt aſtoniſhed, but when he underſtood what the matter was, he led the army forward in order during the whole time that all theſe men that faced him were riding up towards him. But when the enemy, underſtanding how things were, turned and fled, then *Cyrus* commanded thoſe that were appointed to that purpoſe to purſue. He himſelf followed with the reſt, in the manner that he thought proper. Upon this occaſion ſeveral chariots were taken, ſome by means of the drivers falling off, and this partly by being overturned, partly by other means, and ſome were taken by being intercepted by the horſe; and they killed a great many, and amongſt them the man that ſtruck *Gadatas*. Of the *Aſſyrian* foot that were beſieging the fortreſs of *Gadatas*, ſome fled to the fort that had revolted from *Gadatas*, and ſome eſcaped to a conſiderable city that belonged to the *Aſſyrian*, and whither the *Aſſyrian* himſelf, with his chariots and horſes, fled.

CYRUS having done this, retired into the territory of *Gadatas*, and having given his orders to the proper perſons upon the ſubject of the priſoners, he preſently went to ſee how *Gadatas* was of his wound; and as he was going, *Gadatas* met him with his wound already bound up. *Cyrus* was pleaſed at the ſight of him, and ſaid, "I was going to ſee how you "did." "And I, by the gods! (ſaid *Gadatas*,) was "going again to view the outward form of the man "who has ſuch a ſoul! You who are not, that I "know, in any manner of need of me, who never

" promiſed to do theſe things for me; who, as to
" your own particular, never received any benefit
" whatever from me; and only, becauſe I was
" thought to have done a ſervice to your friends,
" have ſo affectionately aſſiſted me: So that, as far
" as I was concerned myſelf, I had now periſhed, but
" am by your means ſaved. By the gods! *Cyrus!*
" if I was the ſame that I was originally, and were
" in the condition of having children, I do not think
" that I could ever have a ſon ſo affectionate to me;
" for I know this preſent king of the *Aſſyrians* par-
" ticularly to have been the cauſe of more affliction
" to his father than he can be now to you, and
" many other ſons the ſame."

To this *Cyrus* ſaid, " Now, *Gadatas*, do you ad-
" mire me, and paſs by a much greater wonder?"
" And what is that?" ſaid *Gadatas*. " That ſo
" many *Perſians* (ſaid he) have been ſo diligent in
" your ſervice, ſo many *Medes*, ſo many *Hyrcanians*,
" as well as all theſe *Armenians*, *Sacians*, and *Cadu-*
" *ſians*, here preſent." Then *Gadatas* made this
prayer: " O *Jove!* may the gods beſtow many bleſ-
" ſings upon them, but moſt upon him who is the
" cauſe of their being ſuch men! And that we may
" handſomely entertain theſe men that you com-
" mend, *Cyrus*, accept theſe preſents of friendſhip,
" which are ſuch as I am able to tender you." At
the ſame time he brought him great abundance and
variety of things, that he might make a ſacrifice, if

he

he pleaſed, or entertain the whole army ſuitably to things ſo nobly performed, and ſo happily ſucceeding.

MEAN while the *Caduſian* ſtill made the rear-guard, and had no ſhare in the purſuit; but being deſirous to perform ſomething himſelf that was conſpicuous, he made an excurſion into the territory of *Babylon*, without communicating it, or ſaying any thing of it to *Cyrus*. But the *Aſſyrian*, from that city of his, whither he had fled, and with his army entirely together, and in order, coming up with the horſe of the *Caduſian* that were diſperſed, as ſoon as he knew them to be the *Caduſians* alone, attacks them, kills their commander, and a great many others, takes a great many horſes, and takes from them the booty that they were carrying off. The *Aſſyrian* then, after having purſued as far as he thought it ſafe, turned back, and the *Caduſians* made their eſcape to the camp, where the firſt of them arrived towards the evening.

CYRUS, as ſoon as he perceived what had happened, went and met the *Caduſians*, and of all that he ſaw wounded ſome he took and ſent to *Gadatas*, that they might be taken care of, and others he lodged together in tents, and took care that they had all things neceſſary, taking ſome of the *Perſian* alike-honoured to be his aſſiſtants. For upon ſuch occaſions, men of worth are willing to beſtow their joint pains. He evidently appeared to be extremely afflicted; ſo that while others were taking their ſuppers, when the time for it was come, *Cyrus*, attended

by ſervants and phyſicians, willingly left no one neglected, but either ſaw with his own eyes, or if he could not diſpatch all himſelf, he was obſerved to ſend others to take that care upon them. Thus then they went to reſt.

As ſoon as it was day, having made proclamation that the commanders of the other nations, and all the *Caduſians* in general, ſhould aſſemble, he ſpoke to this effect.—" Friends and allies! The misfor-
" tune that has happened to us is what human na-
" ture is liable to; for in my opinion it is not to be
" wondered at, that being men, we ſhould be guilty
" of error. However, we are not unworthy of reap-
" ing ſome advantage by this accident, and that is,
" to learn never to ſeparate from the whole a ſmaller
" force than that of the enemy. Yet I do not ſay,
(ſaid he,) " that we are never to march, where it is
" proper, with a part even yet leſs than the *Caduſian*
" marched with upon this occaſion. But if a man
" march, after having concerted matters with ano-
" ther who is able to ſupport him, he may indeed
" be deceived; but he that remains behind, by de-
" ceiving the enemy, may turn them to another part,
" and out of the way of thoſe that have marched off;
" it is poſſible for him to procure ſafety to his friends
" by giving other employment to his enemies; and
" thus he that ſeparates does not become entirely
" diſjoined, but remains annexed to the main ſtrength
" of the whole. He, on the other ſide, that marches
" off without giving any information whither it is

" that

" that he is going, is in the ſame caſe as if he made " war alone. But, (ſaid he,) if it pleaſe God, it " ſhall not be long before we have our revenge of " the enemy, in return of this. And as ſoon as ever " you have dined, I will lead you out to the place " where this affair was tranſacted; we will bury our " dead, and at the ſame time, if it pleaſe God, we " will let the enemy ſee men ſuperior to themſelves, " upon the very place where they think they have " been victorious; that they may not look with plea- " ſure upon that ſpot of ground where they butchered " our fellow-combatants. If they will not come out " to us, we will burn their villages and deſtroy their " country, that they may not be delighted upon " viewing what they themſelves have done, but be " afflicted at the ſight of their own misfortunes. " Let the reſt then, (ſaid he,) go take their dinners, " and do you, *Caduſians*, firſt go your ways, and chuſe " you a commander according to your uſage, who, " with the help of the gods, and together with us, " ſhall take care of you in whatever may be wanting " to you; and when you have made your choice, and " taken your dinners, then ſend the perſon you have " choſen to me."

THESE men did accordingly; and *Cyrus*, when he had led out the army, and placed the perſon who was choſen by the *Caduſians* in his ſtation, ordered him to lead his body of men near to himſelf, " that " if we are able, (ſaid he,) we may recover the cou- " rage of the men." So they marched, and coming

up to the place, they buried the *Caduſians*, and laid the country waſte; and having done this, and ſupplied themſelves with neceſſaries out of the enemies country, they again retreated into the territory of *Gadatas*.

But then conſidering that they who had revolted to him, being in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, would ſuffer ſeverely, unleſs he himſelf was always at hand, he therefore commanded all thoſe of the enemy that he diſmiſſed, to tell the *Aſſyrian*, that he himſelf ſent a herald to declare to him, "That he "was ready to let the labourers that were employed "in the culture of the lands alone, and not to do "them any injury, if he, on the other ſide, would "allow ſuch labourers as belonged to thoſe that had "revolted to himſelf, to go on with their work; and "indeed, (ſaid he,) if you are able to hinder them, "you will hinder but a few, for the land that be-"longs to thoſe that have revolted to me is but "little; and on the other ſide, I ſhould allow a great "quantity of land to be cultivated for you. Then "at the time of gathering the crop, if the war con-"tinues, he that is ſuperior in arms, in my opinion, "muſt gather it. If there be peace, it is plain (ſaid he) "that it muſt be you; but if any of my people "uſe arms againſt you, or any of yours againſt me, "upon theſe we will both of us return mutual hoſ-"tilities if we can."—Having given the herald theſe orders, he ſent him away.

And

AND when the *Aſſyrians* had heard theſe things, they did all that they were able, to perſuade the king to yield to them, and to leave as little of war remaining as was poſſible. The *Aſſyrian*, either at the perſuaſion of thoſe of his own nation, or inclined to it himſelf, conſented; and agreements were made, that there ſhould be peace to thoſe that were employed in labour, and war to thoſe that bore arms. Theſe things did *Cyrus* effect with reſpect to the labouring people. But the paſtures of their cattle he ordered his own friends to ſettle, if they thought fit, within the extent of their own power, and to make prey upon the enemy where-ever they were able, that the ſervice might be more agreeable to his allies, for the dangers were the ſame, even without their ſeizing neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtance, and the maintaining themſelves upon the enemy, ſeemed to make the ſervice the lighter.

BUT when *Cyrus* was now preparing to be gone, *Gadatas* came to him, having collected preſents of all kinds, and in great abundance, as ariſing from a very great eſtate, and having taken a great many horſes from his own horſemen that he miſtruſted upon the account of the late contrivance againſt him: and when he accoſted him, he ſpoke thus: — "I bring you theſe "things, *Cyrus*! at this time, that you may make "preſent uſe of them in caſe you want them. And "count upon it, (ſaid he,) that all things elſe that "belong to me are yours; for it is impoſſible for "me to have one deſcended from myſelf to leave

" my eſtate to, but my race and name, (ſaid he,) muſt of
" neceſſity be extinguiſhed with myſelf when I die. And
" this I ſuffer, *Cyrus*, ſaid he, (I ſwear it to you, by the
" gods, who ſee all things, and hear all things!) without
" having been guilty of any thing unjuſt, or baſe,
" either in word or deed."—At the ſame time that he ſaid this, he burſt out into tears at his unhappy fate, and it was not in his power to ſay more.

CYRUS having heard this, pitied him for his miſfortune, and ſpoke thus.—" The horſes, (ſaid he,)
" I accept; for I ſhall do you ſervice by giving
" them to men better affected to you, it ſeems, than
" they who had them before; and ſhall fill up the
" *Perſian* body of horſe to ten thouſand men, a thing
" that I have long deſired; the reſt of your valuable
" effects do you take away and keep, till ſuch time
" as you ſee me in a condition not to be outdone by
" you in preſents: for if you part with me, and
" your preſents amount to more than you receive at
" my hands, I know not how it is poſſible for me
" not to be quite aſhamed."

To this *Gadatas* ſaid, " But I truſt them to you,
" for I ſee your temper. As to the keeping of them
" myſelf, pray ſee whether I am fit for it. For while
" we were friends with the *Aſſyrian*, my father's
" eſtate ſeemed to be the nobleſt that could be;
" for being near to our capital city *Babylon*, we en-
" joyed all the advantages that we could poſſibly be
" ſupplied with from that great city; and as often as
" we were diſturbed with the crowd and hurry, by

" retiring hither to our home, we got out of the
" way of it. But now that we are become enemies,
" it is plain that when you are gone, both we our-
" ſelves, and our whole family and eſtate, ſhall have
" contrivances formed againſt us. We ſhall, in my
" opinion, live very miſerably, both by having our
" enemies juſt by us, and by ſeeing them ſuperior to
" ourſelves. Perhaps you will preſently therefore
" ſay, And why did not I conſider this before I re-
" volted? Why! becauſe, *Cyrus*, by means of the
" injuries I had received, and the anger I was in, my
" ſoul never dwelt upon the conſideration of what
" was ſafeſt for me; but was always big with the
" thought, whether it would be ever in my power
" to take my revenge upon this enemy, both to the
" gods and men! who paſſes his days in hatred,
" and that not to the man that may have done him an
" injury, but to any one that he ſuſpects to be a
" better man than himſelf! And this wicked wretch,
" therefore, in my opinion, will make uſe of ſuch
" aſſiſtants as are all more wicked than himſelf! Or
" if there be any that may appear to be better than he,
" take courage, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) you will not be un-
" der any neceſſity to engage againſt any ſuch men of
" worth; but he himſelf will be ſufficient to carry on
" this work, till he has taken off every better man than
" himſelf! And yet diſtreſſing me, I am of opinion,
" that with his villains he will eaſily get the better!"

IN all this, *Cyrus*, who heard it, was of opinion, that the man ſaid what was worthy of his attention

and

and care; and he presently said, "And have not you "therefore strengthened your fortress with a garrison, "that you may make use of it with safety when you "go thither? And as to yourself, you accompany "us in the service, that if the gods please to be with "us, as now they are, he may be in fear of you, and "not you of him. Take of what belongs to you "whatever you like to see about you, and of your "people take whoever you like to converse with, "and march with me. You will be, in my opinion, "extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be "as useful to you as I can."

GADATAS, hearing this, recovered himself, and said; "Shall I be able, (said he,) to put up all, and "be ready before you march away? For, (said he,) "I would willingly carry my mother with me." "Yes "by *Jove!* (said he,) you will be ready time enough; "for I will wait till you say that all is well."—So *Gadatas* going his way, settled, in concert with *Cyrus*, garrisons in the several fortresses he had made: he packed up all kinds of things, enough to furnish a very great house in a handsome manner. He took with him from amongst those he confided in, such whose company he was pleased with; and many of those too that he distrusted, obliging some of them to take their wives, and some their sisters with them, that by this means he might keep them as it were in fetters.

CYRUS himself marched, and amongst the rest of those that were about him, he kept *Gadatas* to inform him

him about the ways and the waters, about forage and proviſions, that he might carry on the ſervice with the greateſt plenty of all things. But when, in the courſe of his march, he got ſight of the city of *Babylon*, and fancied that the way he was going led him juſt under the walls of the place, he called *Gobrias* and *Gadatas*, and aſked if there was any other way, that he might not lead the army near to the walls.

THEN *Gobrias* ſpoke. "My ſovereign, there are "many ways; but I thought, (ſaid he,) that you "deſired to lead on as near to the city as poſſible, "that you might ſhew them the army, and let them "ſee that you have now a great and noble one; "becauſe when you had a leſs, you marched up to "the walls, and they ſaw us when we were not very "numerous. And now, though the *Aſſyrian* be pre-"pared, as he told you he would be prepared to "give you battle, I know, that when he ſees your "ſtrength, his preparations will not appear to him "to be ſufficient."

CYRUS to this ſaid, "You ſeem to me, *Gobrias*, "to wonder that when I came with a leſs army, I "led up to the very walls; but that now, with a "greater, I have no mind to march the army under "them: but make no wonder of this, (ſaid he,) "for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is "not the ſame thing. All men lead up in ſuch an "order as they think is beſt for them to engage in; "and people that are wiſe, retreat ſo as to go off in

"the

" the ſafeſt manner, and not in the quickeſt. But " it is neceſſary to march by with the carriages ex- " tended in length, and with the beaſts of burthen, " and thoſe that are concerned in the baggage, all " in looſe order; all this muſt be covered by the " ſoldiers that bear arms, and the baggage-train muſt " in no part appear to the enemy naked of arms; " and marching in this manner, the ſtrength of the " army muſt of neceſſity be extended into a thin and " weak order. If then they have a mind, from within " the walls, to make an attack in a cloſe firm body, " wherever they cloſe in they do it with a ſtrength " much ſuperior to thoſe that are upon the march, " and to men that are marching in a train at length, " the proper helps are at a great diſtance; but to " thoſe that march out from within their walls, the " diſtance is little that they have either to march up " to the enemy that is at hand, or to retreat back " again. But if we paſs by at no leſs a diſtance than " ſo as that they may juſt ſee us, and if we march " extended as we now are, they will ſee the multi- " tude that we are, and every multitude, by means " of arms interwoven amongſt them, appears terri- " ble. If they really do march up to us in any part, " by our ſeeing them at a conſiderable diſtance, we " ſhall not be taken unprepared; and then, my " friends, (ſaid he,) they will the rather avoid attack- " ing us, when they are obliged to march a great " diſtance from their walls, unleſs they think them-

" ſelves

"ſelves, in the whole, ſuperior to us, for they will "have cauſe to be in fear for their retreat."

WHEN he had ſaid this, the perſons preſent were of opinion that he ſaid right, and *Gobrias* led the way as he had directed him; and while the army was moving on by the city, that part of it that was left behind he always made the ſtrongeſt, and in that manner retreated.

WHEN marching thus the following days, he reached the borders of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, from whence he came before, and where there were three forts belonging to the *Aſſyrians*; the weakeſt of theſe he attacked and took by force, and two of them, *Cyrus* by terror, and *Gadatas* by perſuaſion, prevailed with the garriſons to give up. When he had done this, he ſent to *Cyaxares*, and by meſſage deſired him to come to the army, that they might conſult what uſe to make of the forts they had taken; and, after having taken a view of the army, he might in the whole of their affairs adviſe what he thought proper to be done for the future; and if he orders it, (ſaid he,) tell him that I will come and encamp with him. The meſſenger, in order to deliver this meſſage, went his way, and upon this *Cyrus* ordered *Gadatas* to furniſh out the *Aſſyrian*'s tent that the *Medes* had choſen for *Cyaxares*, and this in the handſomeſt manner; and not only with all the other furniture that it was provided with, but he ordered him to introduce the two women into that apartment of the tent that belonged to the women, and together

with

with them, the women muſicians that had been choſen out for *Cyaxares*. Theſe men did as they were ordered. But when he that was ſent to *Cyaxares* had delivered his meſſage, *Cyaxares* having heard him, determined it to be beſt that the army ſhould remain upon the borders; for the *Perſians* that *Cyrus* had ſent for were come, and they were forty thouſand archers and ſhield-men. Therefore when he ſaw that theſe men did prejudice, in many ways, to the *Median* territory, he thought it better to get rid of theſe, rather than admit another multitude. And that *Perſian* who commanded the army, having enquired from *Cyaxares*, according to the orders of *Cyrus*, whether he had any ſervice for the army, when he told him that he had none, and when he heard that *Cyrus* was at hand, upon that very day marched, and conducted the army to him. The next day *Cyaxares* marched with the *Median* horſe that remained with him; and as ſoon as *Cyrus* perceived him approaching, then taking the *Perſian* horſe, who were now very numerous, all the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Hyrcanians*, and of all the other allies ſuch as were the beſt horſed and armed, he met him, and ſhewed *Cyaxares* his force.

CYAXARES, when he ſaw a great many brave men attending *Cyrus*, and but a ſmall company attending upon himſelf, and thoſe but of little value, thought it mean and diſhonourable to him, and was ſeized with a violent concern. But when *Cyrus* alighted from his horſe, and came up to him, as intending

ing to kiſs him in the cuſtomary manner, *Cyaxares* likewiſe alighted, but turned from him, refuſed to kiſs him, and burſt openly into tears. Upon this *Cyrus* ordered all the reſt that were there to retire and wait. He himſelf taking *Cyaxares* by the right hand, and conducting him out of the road, under certain palm-trees, he ordered ſome *Median* quilts to be laid for him, and making him ſit down, he ſat himſelf down by him, and aſked him thus:

" O, uncle, (ſaid he,) tell me, I beg you, by all " the Gods! what are you angry with me for? " And what ill thing have you diſcovered, that you " take thus amiſs?"—Then *Cyaxares* anſwered in this manner: " It is, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) that I, who " as far as the memory of man can reach, am reckoned " to be ſprung from a long train of anceſtors, and " from a father who was a King, and who am myſelf " accounted a King, ſhould ſee myſelf marching " thus meanly and contemptibly! and ſee you with " my attendance, and with other forces, appear here " great and conſpicuous! I ſhould think it hard " to ſuffer this treatment at the hands of enemies, " and much harder, O *Jove!* to ſuffer it at the " hands of thoſe that I ought leaſt to have it from! " For I think I could ſink down under the earth " ten times over with more ſatisfaction, than be " ſeen in this mean condition, and ſee my own " people thus contemning and laughing at me! " For I am not ignorant, not only that you are " more conſiderable than myſelf, but that my own

" ſlaves

" ſlaves are above me in power, dare to oppoſe my " pleaſure, and are ſo ſet up as to be rather able to do " me miſchief, than liable to ſuffer it at my hands."— And in ſaying this, he was ſtill overwhelmed in tears, ſo that he drew down a flood of tears into the eyes of *Cyrus*.

But *Cyrus* pauſing a little, ſpoke to this effect:— " In all this, (ſaid he,) *Cyaxares*, you neither ſay true, " nor judge right. If you think that the *Medes*, " by my preſence, are ſet up upon ſuch a foot, as to " be able to do you miſchief, I do not wonder that " you are enraged and terrified. But, whether it be " juſtly or unjuſtly that you are offended at them, " this I ſhall paſs by; for I know you muſt take it " ill to hear me making their apology; but for a " ruler to take offence at all his people at once, this " I take to be an error; for by ſtriking terror into " a multitude, of neceſſity that multitude muſt be " made one's enemies, and by taking offence at them " all together, they are inſpired with unity of ſen- " timents. Upon this account, be it known to " you, it was, that I would not ſend theſe men away " to you without me, being afraid leſt ſomething " might happen by means of your anger, that might " have afflicted us all. By the aſſiſtance of the gods, " therefore, while I am preſent, theſe things may be " ſafely compoſed; but that you ſhould think yourſelf " injured by me, at this I am very much concerned; " that while I have been doing all that is in my " power to do all poſſible ſervice to my friends,

" I am

" I am then thought to have done the quite contrary.
" But do not let us thus charge one another at random,
" but if poſſible let us conſider clearly what the in-
" jury is that I have done. I will ſtate then an
" agreement for us to come to, and ſuch as is the
" juſteſt that can be between friends. If I ſhall ap-
" pear to have done you miſchief, I will confeſs that
" I have wronged you; but if I neither appear to
" have done you any harm, nor to have intended it,
" will not you then confeſs that you have not been
" wronged by me?" " I muſt, (ſaid he,) of neceſſity."
" If I plainly appear to have done you ſervice, and
" to have been zealous to do you all the ſervice that
" I was able, ſhall not I deſerve your commendation
" rather than your reproach?" " It is but juſt," ſaid
he. " Come on then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) let us conſider
" all the things that I have done, one by one; for
" by this it will appear the moſt evidently, which
" was good and which was ill; we will take it from
" the beginning of this affair, if this appears to you
" to be ſufficient. When you perceived that the
" enemy were aſſembling their forces, and were about
" making an attempt upon you, and upon your
" country, you then ſent immediately to the public
" council of *Perſia*, begging aſſiſtance, and to me
" in particular, deſired me to endeavour, if any *Per-*
" *ſians* came to you, to come as their commander.
" Was not I by you perſuaded to this? Did not I
" come, and bring you as many and as brave men
" as I was able?" " You did come, ſaid he."

" Firſt, therefore, (ſaid he,) in this particular tell
" me, whether you account it an injury or a benefit
" that I did you?"—" It is plain, ſaid *Cyaxares*, that
" in this you did what was a benefit to me.—Well,
" then, (ſaid he,) when the enemies advanced, and
" we were to engage them, did you perceive, that
" upon this occaſion I ſpared any pains, or that I
" balked any danger?" " No, by *Jove!* (ſaid he,)
" not at all." " And then, when, with the aſſiſtance
" of the gods, we gained our victory, and the enemy
" retreated, I exhorted you, that we might jointly
" purſue them, take our joint revenge upon them,
" and if any thing good or ill ſhould befall us,
" that we might jointly ſhare it; and can you
" charge me with any thing of ambition and de-
" ſire of power in any of theſe things?"—To this
Cyaxares was ſilent; and *Cyrus* again ſpoke in this
manner: " Since it is your pleaſure to be ſilent in
" this, rather than to give me a reply, tell me then,
(ſaid he,) " whether you think yourſelf injured, be-
" cauſe that when you were of opinion that it was
" not ſafe to purſue, I did not allow you to ſhare in
" the danger, but only deſired you to ſend ſome of
" your horſe? For if I wronged you in aſking this,
" eſpecially after I had given myſelf up to you, as
" an aſſiſtant and ally, let this, (ſaid he,) be demon-
" ſtrated by yourſelf."—When *Cyaxares* kept himſelf
ſilent to this too: " But, (ſaid he,) if you will give
" me no anſwer here neither, then tell me this;
" whether I did you any wrong when you gave me

" for

" for anſwer, that upon your obſerving the *Medes*
" to be indulging themſelves in pleaſure, you would
" not put a ſtop to it, and oblige them to march
" and run themſelves into danger; and whether you
" think that I put a hardſhip upon you, when avoid-
" ing all anger and reſentment to you, I then again
" upon that aſked you a thing, than which I knew
" there was nothing that you could more eaſily grant,
" and that nothing more eaſy could poſſibly be
" enjoined the *Medes?* For I aſked you only to allow
" any of them, that would, to follow me; and
" when I had obtained this from you, there was no-
" thing left but to perſuade them. I went to them,
" I perſuaded them, and thoſe that I prevailed with
" I took, and marched with them at your allowance.
" If you reckon this to be deſerving of blame, then
" to take from you what you yourſelf grant, is not,
" it ſeems, a thing void of blame. Thus then we
" ſet forward. When we were marched, what was
" there, that we did, that was not apparent? Was
" not the camp of the enemy taken? Were there
" not many of thoſe that made war upon you killed?
" And of thoſe that remained alive, were there not
" a great many ſtripped of their arms, and a great
" many of their horſes? The fortunes and effects of
" thoſe that plundered and ravaged yours before,
" you ſee now taken and ravaged by your friends;
" ſome of them belong to you, and others of them
" to thoſe that are under your dominion. But what
" is the greateſt and nobleſt thing, and above all is,

" that you ſee your own territory enlarged, and that " of your enemies diminiſhed; and ſome forts that " were poſſeſſed by the enemy, and ſome of your " own that had been taken and annexed to the *Aſſy-* " *rian* dominion, now, on the contrary, you ſee " yielded to you. Whether any of theſe things be " good or ill, I cannot ſay that I deſire to learn; " but nothing hinders me from hearing what your " opinion is concerning them, and do you tell it me."

CYRUS having ſaid this, was ſilent, and waited the reply.

AND *Cyaxares* ſpoke thus in anſwer: " Indeed, " *Cyrus*, I do not know how one can ſay that thoſe " things you have performed are ill, but be it known " to you, (ſaid he,) that theſe good things are of " ſuch a kind, as the more they appear to be in " number, ſo much the more are they burthenſome " upon me. I ſhould rather chuſe to enlarge your " territory by my forces, than ſee mine thus enlarged " by yours. For theſe things, to you that do them, " are glorious, but to me they are in ſome ſort diſ- " graceful. And I am of opinion, that I ſhould be " better pleaſed to beſtow of theſe rich effects upon " you, than to receive from you theſe things that " you now preſent me with; for I perceive myſelf " enriched by you with things that make me the " poorer; and I believe I ſhould be leſs grieved to " ſee my ſubjects in ſome degree injured by you, " than I am now to ſee them receiving great ad- " vantages at your hands. If I appear to you to

" think

" think unreaſonably in this, do not conſider theſe
" things as in my caſe, but turn the tables, and make
" the caſe your own: And then, (ſaid he,) conſider,
" that in the caſe of dogs that you maintained as
" a guard and protection to you and yours, ſup-
" poſing any other perſon ſhould make his court
" to them, and ſhould make them better acquainted
" with himſelf than with you, whether you ſhould
" be pleaſed with this courtſhip and ſervice? But if
" this appear to you to be but an inconſiderable
" matter, then conſider this. You have ſervants that
" you have acquired as guards to you and for ſer-
" vice; if any one ſhould manage theſe in ſuch a
" manner, as that they ſhould be more willing to
" ſerve him than to ſerve you, ſhould you think
" yourſelf obliged to this man in return of this be-
" nefit? Then, in another concern, that mens affec-
" tions are greatly engaged in, and that they culti-
" vate in the moſt intimate manner; if any one
" ſhould make ſuch court to your wife, as to make
" her love him better than ſhe loved you, ſhould
" you be delighted with this benefit? I believe far
" from it, (ſaid he;) nay, I know, that in doing this,
" he would do you the greateſt of injuries. But
" that I may mention what is moſt applicable to my
" own concern, If any one ſhould make ſuch court
" to the *Perſians* that you have conducted hither, as
" ſhould make it more agreeable to them to follow
" him than to follow you, ſhould you think this man
" your friend? I believe you would not, but you

" would rather think him yet more your enemy than
" if he killed you a great many of them. Well,
" then, ſuppoſe any friend of yours, upon your ſay-
" ing to him in a friendly way, take as much of
" what belongs to me as you pleaſe, ſhould, upon
" hearing this, go his way, take all that he was able,
" and enrich himſelf with what belonged to you, and
" that you, mean while, ſhould not have wherewithal
" to ſupply your own uſes in a very moderate way;
" could you poſſibly think ſuch a one a blameleſs
" unexceptionable friend? Now, *Cyrus*, I take my-
" ſelf to have had from you, if not the ſame uſage,
" yet ſuch as is very like it. You ſay true, that
" when I bid you carry off thoſe that were willing to
" go, you took my whole force, went off with them,
" and left me deſtitute; and now you bring me
" things that you have taken with my own force,
" and with my own force you enlarge my territory.
" But I, as not having any hand in obtaining theſe
" advantages, look as if I gave up myſelf, like a
" woman, to be ſerved by others as well as by my
" own ſubjects; for you appear to be the man, and
" I to be unworthy of rule; and do you take theſe
" things, *Cyrus*, to be benefits? Be it known to you,
" if you had any concern for me, there is nothing
" you would be ſo careful not to rob me of as of my
" dignity and honour. What advantage is it to me
" to have my land extended and myſelf contemned?
" I have dominion over the *Medes*, not by being
" really the beſt of them all, but by means of their

" think-

" thinking us to be in all reſpects ſuperior to them-
" ſelves."—

HERE *Cyrus* took up the diſcourſe while *Cyaxares* was yet ſpeaking, and ſaid, " I beg you, uncle, (ſaid he,) " by all the gods! if I ever before did any thing " that was agreeable to you, gratify me now in the " things that I ſhall aſk of you. Give over blaming " me at this time, and when you have had experience " of us how we are affected towards you, if the things " that have been done appear done for your ſervice, " give me your embraces in return of the affection " I have for you, and think that I have been of ſer-" vice to you: If things appear otherwiſe, then " blame me."

" PERHAPS, indeed, (ſaid *Cyaxares*,) you ſay right." " Well then, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) ſhall I kiſs you?" " If " you pleaſe," (ſaid he.) " And will you not turn " from me, as you did juſt now?" " I will not," ſaid he.—Then he kiſſed him.

As ſoon as this was ſeen by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and many others, (for they were all under concern about the iſſue of this affair,) they all preſently became chearful and pleaſed.

THEN *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* mounting their horſes, led the way before: The *Medes* followed after *Cyaxares*, (for *Cyrus* made a ſign to them to do ſo,) and the *Perſians* followed *Cyrus*; and after theſe followed the reſt. When they came to the camp, and had lodged *Cyaxares* in the tent that was furniſhed for him, they that were appointed to that ſervice pre-

pared all things fitting for him. And during the time that *Cyaxares* was at leiſure before ſupper, the *Medes* went to him, ſome of themſelves, but moſt of them in conſequence of directions from *Cyrus*; and they brought him preſents, one a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a muſician, one brought him cups, and another a fine habit; and almoſt every one preſented him with ſomething out of what they had taken; ſo that *Cyaxares* changed his opinion, and no longer thought either that *Cyrus* had alienated theſe men from him, or that the *Medes* were leſs obſervant of him than before.

WHEN the time of ſupper came, *Cyaxares* invited *Cyrus*, and deſired, that ſince he had not ſeen him of ſome time, he would ſup with him. But *Cyrus* ſaid, "I beg, *Cyaxares*, that you would not bid me do "this. Do not you obſerve, that all thoſe that are "here with us attend here at our inſtigation? It "would not therefore be well in me to appear neg-"ligent of them, and mindful of my own pleaſure. "When ſoldiers think themſelves neglected, the beſt "of them become much more dejected, and the worſt "of them much more inſolent. But do you, eſpe-"cially now after you have had a long journey, take "your ſupper; and if people come to pay you reſpect, "receive them kindly, and entertain them well, that "they likewiſe may encourage you. I will go my "ways, and apply myſelf to what I tell you. To-"morrow, (ſaid he,) in the morning, all the proper

"perſons

" perſons ſhall attend here at your doors, that we " may conſult together what we are to do hencefor- " ward; and you, being yourſelf preſent, will pro- " poſe to us, whether it be thought fit to go on with " the war, or whether it be now the proper time to " ſeparate the army."—Upon this *Cyaxares* went to ſupper.

AND *Cyrus* aſſembling ſuch of his friends as were moſt able to judge what was fit to be done upon any occaſion, and to aſſiſt him in the execution of it, ſpoke to this effect.—" The things that we at firſt " wiſhed for, my friends, we now, with the aſſiſtance " of the gods, have obtained; for wherever we march " we are maſters of the country, we ſee our enemies " weakened, and ourſelves increaſed in numbers and " ſtrength; and if they who are now our allies will " ſtill continue with us, we ſhall be much more able " to ſucceed in our affairs, whether we have occaſion " to act by force, or whether it be proper to proceed " by perſuaſion; therefore, that as many of our allies " as is poſſible may be inclined to ſtay, is not more " my buſineſs to effect than it is yours. But as when " fighting is neceſſary, he that ſubdues the greateſt " numbers will be accounted the moſt vigorous, ſo " where counſel is neceſſary, he that makes the " greateſt numbers to be of his opinion, ought juſtly " to be eſteemed the moſt eloquent and beſt ſkilled " in affairs. However, do not be at pains, as if you " were to ſhew us what ſort of diſcourſe you made " uſe of to every one; but that the people you pre-

" vail

" vail with may ſhew it in their actions, let this be
" your buſineſs to effect; and that the ſoldiers,
" while they conſult about the carrying on of the
" war, ſhall be ſupplied with all things neceſſary and
" fit in as great plenty as I am able; this I will en-
" deavour to take care of."

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE INSTITUTION OF *CYRUS*.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK VI.

HAVING paſſed the day in this manner, and having taken their ſuppers, they went to reſt. The next day in the morning, all the allies came to the doors of *Cyaxares*; and while *Cyaxares* (who had heard that there was a great multitude of people at his doors) was ſetting himſelf out, *Cyrus*'s friends preſented to him ſeveral people who begged him to ſtay; ſome preſented the *Caduſians*, ſome the *Hyrcanians*. One preſented *Gobrias*, and another the *Sacian*; and *Hyſtaſpes* preſented the eunuch *Gadatas*, who begged *Cyrus* to ſtay. Here *Cyrus*, who knew before that *Gadatas* had been almoſt killed with fear, leſt the army ſhould be ſeparated, laughed, and ſpoke thus:—"O *Gadatas*, (ſaid

(ſaid he,) "it is plain that you have been perſuaded "by *Hyſtaſpes* here to be of the opinion you expreſs." Then *Gadatas*, lifting up his hands to heaven, ſwore, that "indeed he was not perſuaded by *Hyſtaſpes* to "be of this opinion! but I know (ſaid he,) that if "you depart, my affairs fall intirely to ruin. Upon "this account, (ſaid he,) I came myſelf to this man, "and aſked him, whether he knew what your opi-"nion was concerning the ſeparation of the army?" Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "It ſeems, then, that I accuſe "*Hyſtaſpes* unjuſtly."—Then *Hyſtaſpes* ſpoke: "By "*Jove! Cyrus!* (ſaid he,) unjuſtly indeed! becauſe I "gave *Gadatas* for anſwer, that it was impoſſible for "you to ſtay, and told him, that your father had "ſent for you."—"What! (ſaid *Cyrus*,) durſt you "aſſert this, whether I would or no?"—"Yes, "indeed, (ſaid he,) for I ſee you are exceedingly "deſirous to be making a progreſs about among "the *Perſians*, to be ſeen, and to ſhew your father "how you performed every thing." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "And are not you deſirous to go home?" "No, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Hyſtaſpes*,) nor will I go; but "ſtay and diſcharge my duty as a commander, till I "make *Gadatas* here maſter of the *Aſſyrian*."—Thus did theſe men, with a mixture of ſerioufneſs, jeſt with each other.

THEN *Cyaxares*, dreſſed in a magnificent manner, came out, and ſat himſelf on a *Median* throne; and when all the proper perſons were met, and ſilence made, *Cyaxares* ſpoke thus:—"Friends and allies!

"ſince

" ſince I am here preſent, and am an older man than
" *Cyrus*, it is proper for me perhaps to begin the
" diſcourſe: It appears therefore to me, that now is
" the time to debate whether it be thought proper
" to go on with the war, or to ſeparate the army.
" Therefore, (ſaid he,) let ſome body ſpeak what his
" opinion is concerning this affair." — Upon this the *Hyrcanian* firſt ſpoke, " Friends and allies! I
" do not at all know whether words be neceſſary
" where facts themſelves declare what is beſt to be
" done; for we all know that by keeping together,
" we do more miſchief to our enemies than we ſuffer
" from them; and when we are aſunder, they deal
" by us as is moſt agreeable to them, and moſt
" grievous to us." — After him ſpoke the *Caduſian*:
" What can we ſay, (ſaid he,) concerning a general
" departure and ſeparation, when it is not for our
" intereſt to ſeparate, even while we are engaged in
" the ſervice! Accordingly we not long ago under-
" took a piece of ſervice ſeparate from the reſt of
" our body, and paid for it as you all know."

AFTER him, *Artabazus*, he who had ſaid that he was related to *Cyrus*, ſpoke thus: " *Cyaxares*, (ſaid he,) " thus much I differ in my opinion from thoſe
" who ſpoke before: They ſay, that we ought to
" proceed in the war, remaining here together; and
" I ſay that we were in war when we were at home,
" for I was frequently forced to run to the relief of
" our own country, when the enemies were plun-
" dering what belonged to us; frequently I had

" buſineſs

" buſineſs upon my hands, with reſpect to our for-
" treſſes that the enemies were ſaid to have formed
" deſigns upon; and I was continually in fear, and
" kept myſelf upon my guard. All this I did, and
" was all this while upon expence out of my own
" ſtock; but now I am in poſſeſſion of the for-
" treſſes of the enemy, I am not in fear of them:
" I feaſt upon what belongs to them, and I drink
" at the enemies expence; therefore, as being
" in one caſe at war, and in the other caſe as
" at a feſtival, I am not of opinion to diſſolve
" this public aſſembly." — After him ſpoke *Go-*
brias: " Friends and allies! thus far I applaud the
" faith of *Cyrus*; for he has been falſe in nothing
" that he has promiſed; but if he quit the country,
" it is plain that the *Aſſyrian* will be at reſt, and
" eſcape the puniſhment due to him, for the injuries
" that he endeavoured to do you, and that he has in
" fact done me; and I, on my ſide, ſhall again ſuffer
" puniſhment at his hands, and now, it will be, for
" having been a friend to you."

AFTER all theſe *Cyrus* ſpoke: " Nor am I igno-
" rant, friends! that if we ſeparate the army, our
" own affairs will ſink, and the affairs of the enemy
" will riſe again: for as many of them as have had
" their arms taken from them, will make others out
" of hand; they that have loſt their horſes, will
" immediately get others; in the room of thoſe
" men that are killed, others will grow up and ſuc-
" ceed them; ſo that it will not be to be wondered

" at, if they become able to give us diſturbance again
" very ſoon. — Why then did I deſire *Cyaxares* to
" propoſe the debate upon the ſeparation of the
" army ?—Be it known to you, (ſaid he,) it was be-
" cauſe I was in fear for the future. For I perceive
" certain adverſaries advancing upon us, that, if we
" go on with the war upon the foot we now ſtand,
" we ſhall not be able to ſtruggle with; for the
" winter is coming on, and if we have roofs to cover
" our own heads, we have them not, by *Jove!* for
" our horſes, nor for our ſervants, nor for the com-
" mon ſoldiers; and without theſe we cannot pro-
" ceed in the ſervice. The proviſions, wherever we
" have come, have been conſumed by ourſelves, and
" where we have not been, there, for fear of us, they
" have been carried off, and ſecured in fortreſſes; ſo
" that the enemies have them, and we are not able to
" procure them. And who is there that has bravery
" and vigour enough to go on with the ſervice, and
" ſtruggle at the ſame time with hunger and cold?
" Therefore, if we are to continue the war upon theſe
" terms, I ſay, that we ought rather to ſeparate the
" army of our own accord, than be driven away
" againſt our wills by diſtreſs, and by not knowing
" what to do; but if we have a mind to go on ſtill
" with the war, I ſay we ought to do this. We
" ſhould endeavour, as ſoon as poſſible, to take
" from the enemy as many of their ſtrong places as
" we are able, and to erect as many places of ſtrength
" as we can for ourſelves; for if this be done, then

" they

" they will have provisions in the greatest plenty,
" who can take and secure the most of them, and
" they that are inferior in strength will be besieged.
" But now we are just in the same case with those
" that are upon a voyage at sea; for the part that
" they have sailed over, they do not leave so as to
" make it safer for them, than the other part that
" they have not sailed: But if we have fortresses,
" these will alienate the territory from the enemy,
" and all things will be with- us serene and quiet.
" As for what some of you may be apprehensive of,
" in case you are obliged to keep garrison at a dis-
" tance from your own territory, do not let this be
" any concern to you; for we will take upon us to
" guard those parts that are the nearest to the enemy,
" since we are at a great distance from home; and
" do you take possession of the borders between you
" and the *Assyrian* territory, and cultivate them.
" And if we are able to guard and preserve those
" parts that are in the enemies neighbourhood, you
" who keep those other parts that are at a greater
" distance from them, will certainly live in great
" peace and quiet. For I do not believe that they
" can think of forming designs upon you that are at
" a distance, and neglect dangers that are at hand."

After this had been said, all the rest of them rising up, declared that they would join heartily in putting these things in execution. And *Cyaxares*, *Gadatas*, and *Gobrias*, said, that if the allies would give them leave, they would each of them build a fort,

fort, that the allies might have thoſe places in their intereſt. *Cyrus*, therefore, when he ſaw them all ſo zealous in the execution of the things he had mentioned, concluded thus: "If we intend, therefore, "to effect what we agree ought to be done, we ought "as ſoon as poſſible to be ſupplied with engines to "demoliſh the forts of the enemy; and with builders "to erect bulwarks of our own." Upon this *Cyaxares* promiſed to make and ſupply them with one engine; *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* promiſed another; *Tygranes* another; and another, *Cyrus* ſaid, that he would endeavour to make. When they were determined upon theſe things, they procured artificers for the making of theſe engines, and every one provided the materials neceſſary for their fabric, and they eſtabliſhed as preſidents, and overſeers of the work, certain perſons that ſeemed the moſt proper for the employment.

CYRUS, when he found that there would be ſome time taken up in theſe affairs, encamped the army in a ſituation that he judged to be the moſt healthy and moſt eaſily acceſſible, with reſpect to all things that were neceſſary to be brought thither. And he did whatever was neceſſary to the making it ſtrong, that they who always remained there, might be in ſafety, though the main ſtrength of the army ſhould at any time march at a diſtance from the camp. And, beſides, he enquired of thoſe he thought knew the country beſt, from what parts of it the army might be ſupplied with all things that were of uſe to them, in the greateſt plenty. He led them

always abroad to get provision and forage, both that he might procure the greatest plenty of necessaries for the army, that his men, inured to labour by these marches, might gain health and vigour; and that in marching they might preserve in their memories the order they were to keep.

CYRUS was employed in these affairs, when deserters from *Babylon*, and prisoners taken, gave an account that the *Assyrian* was gone to *Lydia*, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich ornaments of all kinds. The body of the soldiery supposed that he was already putting his treasures out of the way for fear; but *Cyrus* judging that he went in order to collect a force against him, if he were able to effect it, prepared himself, on the other hand, with a great deal of vigour, as thinking that he should be again forced to come to an engagement. Accordingly he compleated the *Persian* body of horse; some horses he got from the prisoners, and some from his friends; for these things he accepted from all; rejecting nothing, neither a fine weapon, nor a horse, if any one presented him with it. Chariots likewise he fitted up, both out of those that were taken, and from whence-soever else he was able to get supplied with what was necessary towards it.

THE *Trojan* method of using chariots that was practised of old, and that way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the *Cyrenæans*, he abolished. For formerly the *Medes*, *Syrians*, and *Arabians*, and

all

all the people of *Aſia*, uſed the ſame method with reſpect to their chariots, that the *Cyrenæans* do at this time; and he was of opinion, that the very beſt of the men being mounted upon chariots, they that probably conſtituted the chief ſtrength of the army, had the part only of ſkirmiſhers at a diſtance, and had no great ſhare in the gaining of a victory. For three hundred chariots afford three hundred combatants, and theſe take up twelve hundred horſes; then their drivers probably are ſuch, as theſe men that are the beſt of the army chiefly confide in; and here again are three hundred others, and they ſuch as do the enemy no manner of miſchief. Therefore this ſort of management, with reſpect to their chariots, he aboliſhed; and inſtead of this, he provided a ſort of warlike chariots, with wheels of great ſtrength, ſo as not to be eaſily broken, and with axle-trees that were long, becauſe things that carry breadth are leſs liable to be overturned. The box for the drivers he made like a turret, and with ſtrong pieces of timber; and the higheſt of theſe boxes reached up to the elbows of the drivers, that, reaching over thoſe boxes, they might drive the horſes. The drivers he covered all but their eyes with armour. To the axle-trees, on each ſide of the wheels, he added ſteel ſcythes of about two cubits in length, and below, under the axle-tree, he fixed others pointing to the ground; as intending with theſe chariots to break in upon the enemy. As *Cyrus* at that time contrived theſe chariots, ſo to this day

they uſe them in the king's territory. He had likewiſe camels in great number; ſuch as were collected from amongſt his friends, and thoſe that were taken from the enemy, being all brought together.

THUS were theſe things performed. But he, being deſirous to ſend ſome ſpy into *Lydia*, and to learn what the *Aſſyrian* did, was of opinion, that *Araſpes*, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was a proper perſon to go upon that errand. For with *Araſpes*, things had fallen out in this manner.

HAVING fallen in love with the woman, he was forced to make propoſals to her concerning a more intimate commerce with each other. But ſhe denied him, and was faithful to her huſband, though he was abſent, for ſhe loved him very much. Yet ſhe did not accuſe *Araſpes* to *Cyrus*, being unwilling to make a quarrel between men that were friends. Then *Araſpes*, thinking to forward the ſucceſs of his inclinations, threatned the woman, that if ſhe would not yield to the thing willingly, ſhe ſhould ſubmit to it againſt her will. Upon this the woman, being in fear of violation, concealed the matter no longer, but ſent an eunuch to *Cyrus*, with orders to tell him the whole affair. He, when he heard it, laughed at this man that had ſaid he was above the power of love. He ſent *Artabazus* with the eunuch, and commanded him to tell *Araſpes*, that he ſhould not do violence to ſuch a woman; but if he could prevail with her by perſuaſion, he ſaid, that he would be no hindrance to him. But *Artabazus* coming

coming to *Araſpes*, reproached him, calling the woman a depoſit that had been truſted in his hands! and telling him of his impiety, injuſtice, and impotence of his paſſion! ſo that *Araſpes* ſhed many tears for grief, was overwhelmed with ſhame, and almoſt dead with fear, leſt he ſhould ſuffer ſome ſeverity at the hands of *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* being informed of this, ſent for him, and ſpoke to him by himſelf alone:

"I ſee, *Araſpes!* (ſaid he,) that you are very "much in fear of me, and very much aſhamed. "But give them both over, for I have heard, that "gods have been conquered by love; I know how "much men, that have been accounted very wiſe, have "ſuffered by love; and I pronounced upon myſelf, that "if I converſed with beautiful people, I was not enough "maſter of myſelf to diſregard them; and I am the "cauſe that this has befallen you, for I ſhut you up with "this irreſiſtible thing."—*Araſpes* then ſaid, in reply, "You are in this too, *Cyrus*, as you are in other "things, mild, and diſpoſed to forgive the errors of "men! But other men, (ſaid he,) overwhelm me "with grief and concern; for the rumour of my "misfortune is got abroad, my enemies are pleaſed "with it, and my friends come to me, and adviſe "me to get out of the way, leſt I ſuffer ſome ſeverity "at your hands, as having been guilty of a very "great injuſtice."

THEN *Cyrus* ſaid, "Be it known to you, "therefore, *Araſpes!* that by means of this very "opinion that people have taken up, it is in

" your power to gratify me in a very high degree,
" and to do very great ſervice to our allies." " I wiſh,
(ſaid *Araſpes*,) " that I had an opportunity of being
" again of uſe to you." " Therefore, (ſaid he,)
" if you would make as if you fled from me, and
" would go over to the enemy, I believe that the
" enemy would truſt you." " And I know, by
" *Jove!* (ſaid *Araſpes*,) that I ſhould give occaſion
" to have it ſaid by my friends that I fled from you."
" Then you might return to us, (ſaid he,) appriſed of
" all the enemy's affairs. I believe that, upon their
" giving credit to you, they would make you a
" ſharer in their debates and counſels, ſo that nothing
" would be concealed from you that I would de-
" ſire you ſhould know."—" I will go then, (ſaid he,)
" now out of hand, for be aſſured, that my being
" thought to have made my eſcape as one that were
" juſt about to receive puniſhment at your hands,
" will be one of the things that will give me
" credit."

" And can you, (ſaid he,) leave the beautiful
" *Panthea?*" — " Yes, *Cyrus!* for I have plainly
" two ſouls. I have now philoſophized this point
" out by the help of that wicked ſophiſter love;
" for a ſingle ſoul cannot be a good one and a bad
" one at the ſame time; nor can it at the ſame
" time affect noble actions and vile ones. It cannot
" incline and be averſe to the ſame things at the
" ſame time. But it is plain there are two ſouls, and
" when the good one prevails, it does noble things;

" when

"when the ill one prevails, it attempts vile things.
"But now that it has got you for a support, the
"good one prevails, and that very much."—"If
"you think it proper therefore to be gone, (said
Cyrus,) "thus you must do, in order to gain the
"greater credit with them. Relate to them the
"state of our affairs, and relate it so, as that what
"you say may be as great a hindrance as possible to
"what they intend to do: and it would be some
"hindrance to them, if you should say that we are
"preparing to make an incursion into some part
"of their territory; for when they hear this, they
"will be less able to assemble their whole force
"together, every one being in fear for something
"at home. Then stay with them, (said he,) as long
"you can. For what they do when they are the
"neareſt us, will be the most for our purpose to
"know. Advise them likewise to form themselves
"into such an order, as may be thought the strongest,
"for when you come away, and are supposed to be
"apprized of their order, they will be under a
"necessity to keep to it, for they will be afraid of
"making a change in it, and if they do make a
"change, by their being so near at hand, it will
"create confusion amongst them."

ARASPES setting out in this manner, and taking with him such of his servants as he chiefly confided in, and telling some certain persons such things as he thought might be of service to his undertaking, went his way.

PANTHEA, as ſoon as ſhe perceived that *Araſpes* was gone, ſending to *Cyrus*, told him thus: "Do "not be afflicted, *Cyrus!* that *Araſpes* is gone off "to the enemy, for if you will allow me to "ſend to my huſband, I engage that there will come "to you one who will be a much more faithful "friend to you than *Araſpes*. I know that he will "attend you with all the force that he is able, for "the father of the prince that now reigns was his "friend; but he who at preſent reigns, attempted "once to part us from each other; and reckoning "him therefore an unjuſt man, I know that he "would joyfully revolt from him to ſuch a man as "you are."

CYRUS hearing this, ordered her to ſend to her huſband; ſhe ſent: and when *Abradatas* diſcovered the ſigns from his wife, and perceived how matters ſtood as to the other particulars, he marched joyfully away to *Cyrus*, having about two thouſand horſe with him. When he came up with the *Perſian* ſcouts, he ſent to *Cyrus* to tell him who he was. *Cyrus* immediately ordered them to conduct him to his wife.

WHEN *Abradatas* and his wife ſaw each other, they mutually embraced, as was natural to do, upon an occaſion ſo unexpected. Upon this *Panthea* told him of the ſanctity and virtue of *Cyrus*, and of his pity and compaſſion towards her. *Abradatas*, having heard of it, ſaid, "What can I do, *Panthea*, "to pay my gratitude to *Cyrus* for you and for "myſelf?"

" myſelf?" " What elſe, (ſaid *Panthea*,) but en-
" deavour to behave towards him as he has done
" towards you."—Upon this, *Abradatas* came to *Cyrus*, and as ſoon as he ſaw him, taking him by the right hand, he ſaid, " In return of the benefits
" you have beſtowed upon us, *Cyrus!* I have no-
" thing of more conſequence to ſay, than that I give
" myſelf to you as a friend, a ſervant, and an ally;
" and whatever deſigns I obſerve you to be engaged
" in, I will endeavour to be the beſt aſſiſtant to you
" in them that I am able." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " I ac-
" cept your offer, and diſmiſs you at this time to take
" your ſupper with your wife; but at ſome other
" time you muſt take a meal with me in my tent,
" together with your friends and mine."

AFTER this, *Abradatas* obſerving *Cyrus* to be employed about the chariots armed with ſcythes, and about thoſe horſes and horſemen that were cloathed in armour, endeavoured, out of his own body of horſe, to fit him up a hundred ſuch chariots as his were, and he prepared himſelf, as being to lead them, mounted upon a chariot himſelf. His own chariot he framed with four perches and for eight horſes. His wife, *Panthea*, out of her own treaſures, made him a corſelet of gold and a golden head-piece, and arm-pieces of the ſame; and the horſes of his chariot ſhe provided with braſs defences. Theſe things *Abradatas* performed. And *Cyrus* obſerving his chariot with four perches, conſidered that it might be poſſible to make one with

eight,

eight, ſo as to draw the lower frame of theſe machines with eight yoke of oxen. This engine, together with its wheels, was upwards of fifteen feet from the ground; and he believed that turrets of this kind following in the line, might be of great help to his own phalanx, and do great prejudice to the line of the enemy. Upon theſe frames he made open places to move about in, and ſtrong defences; and upon each of theſe turrets he mounted twenty men. When all things with reſpect to theſe turrets were compleated to his hand, he made an experiment of their draught, and eight yoke of oxen drew a turret and the men upon it, with more eaſe than each yoke drew the common baggage-weight. For the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, whoſe wooden frame was as broad as a tragic ſtage, together with twenty men, and their arms, amounted but to fifteen talents to each yoke. When he found that the draught was eaſy, he prepared for the marching theſe turrets with the army, reckoning, that to take all advantages was both ſafe and juſt, and of happy conſequence in war.

At this time there came from the *Indian* certain perſons who brought treaſure, and gave him an account that the *Indian* ſent him word thus:—"I am "pleaſed, *Cyrus*, that you gave me an account of "what you wanted; I have a mind to engage in "friendſhip with you, and I ſend you treaſure. If

"you

"you want any thing elſe ſend me word. They "that come from me have it in charge to do what-"ever you order them."

CYRUS, hearing this, ſaid, "I order, then, that "ſome of you remaining here, where you have "pitched your tents, may guard the treaſure, and "live as is moſt agreeable to you; but let three of "you go on to the enemy, as coming from the *In-*"*dian*, to treat of an alliance, and getting yourſelves "informed of what is ſaid and done there, give me "and the *Indian* an account of it, as ſoon as is poſ-"ſible; and if you ſerve me well in this, I ſhall be "yet more obliged to you than for your coming "hither and bringing me treaſure: For ſuch ſpies as "appear men of ſervile condition, are not able to "know or give an account of any thing more than "what all people know; but ſuch men as you are "often let into the knowledge of deſigns and coun-"ſels."—The *Indians* hearing this with pleaſure, and being upon that occaſion entertained by *Cyrus*, made all things ready, and the next day went away, promiſing faithfully to get informed of as many of the enemy's concerns as they were able, and to come away as ſoon as poſſible.

CYRUS made all other preparations for the war in the moſt magnificent manner, as being a man who projected to perform no inconſiderable things, and withal did not only take care of ſuch things as he thought proper for his allies, but raiſed amongſt his friends an emulation to appear armed in the

hand-

handſomeſt manner, to appear the moſt ſkilled in horſemanſhip, at throwing of the javelin, and in the uſe of the bow, and the moſt ready to undergo any fatigue. This he effected by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding thoſe that were the ableſt in the ſeveral performances: And thoſe commanders that he obſerved to be moſt careful to make their ſoldiers excel, thoſe he animated by praiſing them, and by gratifying them in all that he was able. If at any time he made a ſacrifice, or ſolemnized a feſtival, he appointed games upon the occaſion, in all the ſeveral things that men practiſe upon the account of war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors; and there was a mighty chearfulneſs in the army.

All things that *Cyrus* had a mind to have with him for the ſervice, were now almoſt compleated to his hands, except the engines; for the *Perſian* horſemen were filled up to ten thouſand; the chariots armed with ſcythes, that he himſelf provided, were now a hundred compleat; thoſe that *Abradatas*, the *Suſian*, undertook to provide, like thoſe of *Cyrus*, were likewiſe compleat a hundred; and the *Median* chariots, that *Cyrus* had perſuaded *Cyaxares* to change from the *Trojan* and *Lybian* form and method, were likewiſe made up to another hundred; the camels were mounted by two archers upon each, and moſt of the army ſtood diſpoſed as if they had already conquered, and the affairs of the enemy were reduced to nothing.

While

WHILE they were in this diſpoſition, the *Indians* that *Cyrus* had ſent to get intelligence came back from the enemy, and ſaid, that *Cræſus* was choſen general and leader of all the enemy's forces; that all the princes in their alliance had determined to attend each with his whole force, to contribute mighty ſums of money, and to lay them out in ſtipends to all thoſe that they could hire, and in preſents where it was proper; that they had already hired a great number of *Thracians* armed with large ſwords; that the *Ægyptians* were under ſail to come to them, and the number of theſe, they ſaid, amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand, armed with large ſhields that reached down to their feet, with mighty ſpears, ſuch as they uſe at this day, and with ſwords: They ſaid, that a body of *Cyprians* was under ſail to join them, and that all the *Cilicians*, the men of both the *Phrygias*, the *Lycaonians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cappadocians*, *Arabians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Aſſyrians*, with the prince of *Babylon*, were already joined; that the *Ionians*, the *Æolians*, and all the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*, were obliged to attend *Cræſus*, and that *Cræſus* had ſent to *Lacedæmon* to treat of an alliance with them; that this army aſſembled about the river *Pactolus*, and was about to advance to *Thybarra*, where all the barbarians of the lower *Syria*, that are ſubjects to the king, aſſemble at this day; that orders were given out to all, to convey proviſions and all things thither, as to the general market. The priſoners likewiſe related almoſt the ſame things, for *Cyrus* took care that priſoners

ſoners ſhould be taken, in order to get information, and he ſent out ſpies, that ſeemed to be of ſervile condition, as deſerters.

When the army of *Cyrus* came to hear all this, every body was under concern, as it was natural for them to be. They went up and down in a ſedater way than they uſed to do, and the multitude did not appear chearful; but they got together in circles, and all places were full of people, aſking each other queſtions concerning theſe matters, and diſcourſing together. When *Cyrus* perceived that terror was ſpreading apace through the army, he called together the commanders of the ſeveral bodies, together with all ſuch whoſe dejection might prove to be any ways prejudicial, or their alacrity of uſe, and told his ſervants before-hand, that if any other of the ſoldiers attended to hear his diſcourſe, they ſhould not hinder them. When they were aſſembled, he ſaid:

"Friends and allies! I have called you together, "becauſe I obſerved, that ſince theſe accounts are "come from the enemy, ſome of you appear like "men that are terrified: For to me it appears ſtrange, "that any of you ſhould be really terrified at the "enemies being ſaid to aſſemble their forces, be-"cauſe we are at this time met in much greater "numbers than we were when we beat them, and, "with the help of the gods, are now better prepared "than before; and when you ſee this, does it not "give you courage? In the name of the gods, (ſaid he,) "if you are afraid now, what had you done if

"people

" people had given you an account that the enemies
" were advancing upon you with all the advantages
" on their ſide, that we have on ours? And in the
" firſt place, (ſaid he,) had you heard that they who
" had beaten us before were coming upon us again
" with minds full of the victory they had obtained;
" that they who at that time ſlighted the diſtant
" diſcharge of arrows and javelins, were coming with
" multitudes more armed like themſelves; and then
" that as theſe heavy-armed men at that time con-
" quered our foot, ſo now their horſemen, provided
" in the ſame manner, advanced againſt our horſe;
" and that rejecting bows and javelins, each of them
" armed with one ſtrong lance, had it in their inten-
" tion to puſh up to us and engage hand to hand;
" that there are chariots coming that are not to be
" planted as heretofore, and turned away as for
" flight, but that the horſes of theſe chariots are
" covered with armour, the drivers ſtand in wooden
" turrets, and all upwards are covered with their
" corſlets and helms, and ſteel ſcythes are fixed to
" the axle-trees, and that theſe are ready to drive in
" immediately upon the ranks of thoſe that ſtand in
" oppoſition to them; beſides that, they have camels
" upon which they ride up to us, and one of which
" a hundred horſes will not bear the ſight of; and
" yet farther, that they advance with certain towers,
" from whence they can ſupport their own people,
" and by diſcharging their weapons upon you,
" hinder you from fighting upon even ground with
" them!

" them!—Had any one told you that the enemies " were poſſeſſed of all theſe things, if you are afraid " now, what had you done then? But when you " have an account that *Cræſus* is choſen the enemy's " general, he who behaved himſelf ſo much worſe " than the *Syrians*, that the *Syrians* were beaten be- " fore they fled, but *Cræſus*, when he ſaw them " beaten, inſtead of ſupporting his allies, fled and " made his eſcape! And when it is told you that the " ſame enemies are not thought ſufficient to engage " us, but that they hire others that they think will " fight their battles for them better than they do for " themſelves!—If theſe are ſuch things as appear " terrible to any, and that the ſtate of our own affairs " appears mean and contemptible to them;—theſe " men, my friends, I ſay, ought to go their ways to " the enemy; for by being there they will do us " more ſervice than they will by being amongſt us."

When *Cyrus* had ſaid this, *Chryſantas* the *Perſian* ſpoke thus:—" O *Cyrus!* do not wonder that ſome " people carry ſad countenances upon having heard " theſe accounts; for it is not fear that affects them " thus, but it is grief. For, (ſaid he,) if people that " had a mind to get their dinners, and were juſt in " expectation of it, were told of ſome work that " was neceſſary to be done before they dined, no- " body, I believe, would be pleaſed with hearing it. " Juſt ſo, therefore, while we are in preſent expecta- " tion of enriching ourſelves, and then hear that " there is ſtill ſome work left that of neceſſity muſt

" be

" be done, we look ſad, not out of fear, but becauſe " we want to have that work already over. But " ſince we are not only contending for *Syria*, where " there is corn in abundance, flocks, and fruitful " palms, but for *Lydia* too, where wine and figs and " oil abound, and a land whoſe ſhores the ſea waſhes; " by which means ſuch numbers of valuable things " are brought thither as no one ever ſaw. Conſider- " ing theſe things, we are no longer dejected, but " have full confidence that we ſhall ſoon enjoy theſe " valuable productions of *Lydia*." — Thus he ſpoke; and all the allies were pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and applauded it.

" AND indeed, my friends! ſaid *Cyrus*, my opinion " is to march up to them as ſoon as poſſible, that if " we can we may prevent them, and firſt reach thoſe " places where all their conveniencies are got toge- " ther for them; and then the ſooner we march to " them, the fewer things we ſhall find them pro- " vided with, and the more things we ſhall find them " in want of. This I give as my opinion: if any " one think any other courſe ſafer and eaſier to us, " let him inform us."

AFTER a great many had expreſſed their concurrence in its being proper to march as ſoon as poſſible to the enemy, and that no body ſaid to the contrary; upon this, *Cyrus* began a diſcourſe to this effect:

" FRIENDS and allies! our minds, our bodies, and " the arms that we are to uſe, have been, with the " help of the gods! long ſince provided to our hands.

" It is now our buſineſs to provide neceſſaries upon
" our march for not leſs than twenty days, both for
" ourſelves, and as many beaſts as we make uſe of.
" For upon calculation, I find that the way we are
" to go, will take us up more than fifteen days, and
" upon the road we ſhall find no ſort of neceſſaries;
" for every thing that was poſſible has been taken
" and carried off, partly by ourſelves, and partly by
" the enemy. We muſt, therefore, put up a ſuf-
" ficient quantity of food, for without this, we can
" neither fight, nor can we live; but of wine, as much
" as is enough to accuſtom us to drink water; for
" great part of the way that we are to take, is entirely
" unprovided with wine, and were we to put up a
" very great quantity of it, it would not ſuffice us.
" Therefore, that we may not fall into diſtempers by
" being deprived of wine all on a ſudden, we muſt
" do thus, we muſt begin now immediately to drink
" water with our food: for by doing this now, we
" ſhall make no very great change; for whoever feeds
" upon things made of flour, eats the maſs mixed up
" with water, and he that feeds upon bread, eats the
" loaf that is firſt moiſtened and worked up with
" water; and all boiled meats are made ready with a
" great quantity of water. But if after our meal we
" drink a little wine upon it, our ſtomach not having
" leſs than uſual, reſts ſatisfied. Then afterwards
" we muſt cut off even this allowance after ſupper,
" till at laſt we become inſenſibly water-drinkers.
" For an alteration, little by little, brings any nature

" to

" to bear a total change. God himſelf teaches us " this, by bringing us, little by little, from the midſt " of winter to bear very great heat, and from the " heat to bear very great cold. And we, in imita- " tion of him, ought by cuſtom and practice to reach " the end we ſhould attain to. Spare the weight of " fine quilts and carpets, and make it up in neceſ- " ſaries; for a ſuperfluity of things neceſſary will " not be uſeleſs. But if you happen to be without " theſe carpets, you need not be afraid that you ſhall " not lie and ſleep with pleaſure. If it prove other- " wiſe than I ſay, then blame me. But to have plenty " of cloaths with a man, is a great help to one both " in health and ſickneſs. And of meats we ought to " put up thoſe that are a good deal ſharp, acid, and " ſalt; for they create appetite, and are a laſting " nouriſhment. And when we come into thoſe parts " of the country that are untouched, where probably " we ſhall find corn, we ought to be provided with " hand-mills, by taking them with us from hence, " that we may uſe them in making our bread; for " of all the inſtruments that are uſed in making bread, " theſe are the lighteſt. We ought likewiſe to put " up quantities of ſuch things as are wanted by ſick " people; for their bulk is but very little, and if ſuch " a chance befal us, we ſhall want them very much. " We muſt likewiſe have ſtore of ſtraps, for moſt " things both about men and horſes are faſtened by " ſtraps, and when they wear out or break, there is a " neceſſity of ſtanding ſtill, unleſs one can get ſupplied

" with them. Whoever has learnt the ſkill of po-
" liſhing a lance, it will be well for him not to
" forget a poliſher, and he will do well to carry a file.
" For he that ſharpens his ſpear, ſharpens his ſoul
" at the ſame time; for there is a ſort of ſhame in it
" that one who ſharpens his lance, ſhould himſelf be
" cowardly and dull. We ought likewiſe to have
" plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and
" carriages; for in many affairs many things will of
" neceſſity be defective. And we ought to be pro-
" vided with the tools and inſtruments that are the
" moſt neceſſary for all theſe things, for artificers are
" not every where to be met with; nor will a few of
" them be ſufficient for our daily work. To every
" carriage we ſhould have a cutting-hook and a
" ſpade; and to each beaſt of burthen, a pick-axe
" and a ſcythe; for theſe things are uſeful to every
" one in particular, and are often ſerviceable to the
" public. Therefore, with reſpect to the things that
" are neceſſary for food, do you that are commanders
" of the ſoldiery, examine thoſe that are under you;
" for in whatever of theſe things any one is defective,
" it muſt not be paſſed by; for we ſhall be in want
" of theſe. And as to thoſe things that I order to
" be carried by the beaſts of burthen, do you that
" are the commanders of thoſe that belong to the
" baggage-train, examine into them; and the man
" that has them not, do you oblige to provide them.
" And do you that are the commanders of thoſe that
" clear the ways, take down in a liſt from me, ſuch

" as

" as are turned out from among the throwers of the
" javelin, the archers, and the ſlingers. And thoſe
" that are taken from amongſt the throwers of the
" javelin, you muſt oblige to ſerve with an axe, for
" cutting of wood. Thoſe that are taken from the
" archers, with a ſpade, and thoſe from the ſlingers,
" with a cutting-hook. Theſe muſt march in troops
" before the carriages, that in caſe the way wants to
" be mended, you may preſently ſet to work, and that
" if I want any thing to be done, I may know from
" whence to take them for my uſe. And I will take
" with me ſmiths, carpenters, and leather-cutters,
" with all their proper tools, and who ſhall be men
" of an age fit to attend the ſervice; that nothing of
" what is neceſſary to be done in the army, in the
" way of thoſe arts, may be wanting. And theſe ſhall
" all be exempt and diſengaged from the military
" ranks, but ſhall be placed in their proper order,
" ready to do ſervice for any one that will hire them
" in the ways that they are ſeverally ſkilled in. And
" if any tradeſman has a mind to attend, with inten-
" tion to ſell any thing, he muſt have neceſſaries for
" the days before mentioned; and if he be found to
" ſell any thing during thoſe days, all that he has
" ſhall be taken from him; but when theſe days are
" paſt, he may ſell as he pleaſes. And whoever of
" theſe traders ſhall be found to furniſh the greateſt
" plenty of the things that he deals in, he ſhall meet
" with reward and honour from our allies and from
" me. If any one thinks that he wants money to

" purchaſe things, let him bring people that know " him, and will be reſponſible for him that he will " certainly attend the army; and then let him take " of what belongs to us.

" THESE are the things that I order; if any one " knows of any other thing that is proper, let him " ſignify it to me: do you go your ways, and put " up every thing.—I intend to make a ſacrifice, on " our ſetting forward; and when our divine affairs " ſtand right, we will give the ſignal. All muſt " attend with the things before ordered, in their " proper poſts, under their ſeveral commanders: " and do you commanders, each of you, putting his " diviſion into good order, all come and confer with " me, that you may learn your ſeveral poſts."—They hearing this, made their preparations; and he made a ſacrifice.

AND when the ſacred rites were performed in a happy manner, he ſet forward with the army, and the firſt day encamped at as ſmall a diſtance as he could, that in caſe any one had forgot any thing he might fetch it; and that if any one found himſelf in want of any thing, he might provide it. *Cyaxares* therefore, with the third part of the *Medes*, ſtaid behind, that affairs at home might not be left deſtitute.

AND *Cyrus* marched with the utmoſt diſpatch, having the horſe at the head of the whole, but always making the diſcoverers and ſcouts mount up before to ſuch places as were moſt proper to take their

their views from; after the horſe he led the baggage-train, and where the country was open and plain, he marched the carriages and beaſts of burthen in ſeveral lines. The phalanx marched after, and if any of the baggage-train was left behind, thoſe of the commanders that were at hand took care of it, that they might not be hindered in their march: but where their road was more contracted, he ranged the train in the middle, and the ſoldiers marched on each ſide; and if they met with any hindrance, thoſe of the ſoldiers that were at hand took care about it. The ſeveral regiments marched for the moſt part with their own baggage near them, for it was given in charge to thoſe of the train, to march each part of them by the regiment they belonged to, unleſs ſome neceſſity kept them from doing it, and every officer of the train led on with the colonel's enſign or mark that was known to the men of their ſeveral regiments; ſo that they marched in cloſe order, and every one took very great care of their own, that it might not be left behind; and by doing thus, they were in no need of ſeeking for each other, all things were at hand and in more ſafety, and the ſoldiers were the more readily ſupplied with what they wanted.

BUT as ſoon as the advanced ſcouts thought that they ſaw men in the plain getting forage and wood, and ſaw beaſts of burthen laden with ſuch kind of things, and feeding; and then again taking a view at a greater diſtance, they thought that they obſerved ſmoak or duſt riſing up into the air: from all theſe

things they concluded, that the enemy's army was ſomewhere near at hand. The commander of the ſcouts therefore immediately ſent one to *Cyrus* to tell him theſe things.

He having heard theſe things, commanded them to remain in the ſame viewing places, and whatever new thing they ſaw, to give him an account of it. He ſent a regiment of horſe forward, and commanded them to endeavour to take ſome of the men that were in the plain, that they might get a clearer inſight into the matter: they that were thus ordered did accordingly. He made a diſpoſition of the reſt of his army in ſuch a manner, that they might be provided with whatever he thought fitting before they came up cloſe to the enemy; and firſt he made it be proclaimed, that they ſhould take their dinners, and then wait in their ranks, attentive to their farther orders. When they had dined, he called together the ſeveral commanders of the horſe, foot, and chariots, of the engines, baggage, train and carriages, and they met accordingly; they that made an excurſion into the plain, taking certain people priſoners, brought them off.

These that were taken being aſked by *Cyrus*, told him that they came off from their army, and paſſing their advanced guard, came out, ſome for forage and ſome for wood; for by means of the multitude that the army conſiſted of, all things were very ſcarce. *Cyrus* hearing this, ſaid: "And how far is "the army from hence?" They told him about

two

two paraſangs. Upon this *Cyrus* aſked, "And is "there any diſcourſe amongſt them concerning us?" "Yes, by *Jove!* (ſaid they,) a great deal, particu- "larly that you are already near at hand advancing "upon them." "Well, then! (ſaid *Cyrus*) did they "rejoice at the hearing it?" And this he aſked for the ſake of thoſe that were by. "No, by *Jove*, (ſaid they,) "they did not rejoice, but were very much "concerned." "And at this time, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) "what are they doing?" "They are forming in "order, (ſaid they,) and both yeſterday and the "day before they were employed in the ſame work." "And he that makes their diſpoſition, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) "who is he?" "*Cræſus* himſelf, (ſaid they,) and "with him a certain *Greek*, another beſides, who is "a *Mede*, and this man was ſaid to be a deſerter "from you." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "O greateſt *Jove!* "may I be able to take this man as I deſire!"

UPON this he ordered them to carry off the priſoners, and turned to the people that were preſent, as if he were going to ſay ſomething. At that inſtant there came another man from the commander of the ſcouts, who told him, that there appeared a great body of horſe in the plain; "And we gueſs, (ſaid he,) "that they are marching with intention to "take a view of the army; for before this body, "there is another party of about thirty horſe, that "march with great diligence, and directly againſt "us, perhaps with intention to ſeize our ſtation for "viewing if they can, and we are but a ſingle decad

"upon

"upon that ſtation." Then *Cyrus* ordered a party of thoſe horſe that always attended him, to march and put themſelves in a place under the viewing-ſtation, and keeping themſelves concealed from the enemy, to be quiet. "And when our decad (ſaid he) "quits the ſtation, then do you ruſh out, and "attack thoſe that mount it; and that the enemy's "greater body may not do you miſchief, do you, "*Hyſtaſpes!* (ſaid he,) march with a thouſand horſe, "and appear in oppoſition to the enemy's body, "and do not purſue up to any undiſcovered place; "but when you have taken care to maintain the "poſſeſſion of your viewing-ſtations, then come back "to me; and if any men ride up to you, with their "right-hands extended, receive them as friends." *Hyſtaſpes* went away, and armed himſelf; thoſe that attended *Cyrus* marched immediately; and on this ſide the viewing-places, *Araſpes*, with his ſervants, met them, he that had been ſome time ſince ſent away as a ſpy, and was the guardian of the *Suſian* woman.

CYRUS therefore, as ſoon as he ſaw him, leaped from his ſeat, met him, and received him with his right-hand; the reſt, as was natural, knowing nothing of the matter, were ſtruck with the thing; till *Cyrus* ſaid, "My friends! here comes to us a brave "man! for now it is fit that all men ſhould know "what he has done. This man went away, not for "any baſe thing that he was loaded with, or for any "fear of me, but he was ſent by me; that learning

"the

" the ſtate of the enemy's affairs for us, he might " make us a clear report of them. What I promiſed " you, therefore, *Araſpes*, I remember, and with the " aſſiſtance of all theſe that are here I will perform " it: And it is juſt that all you, my friends, ſhould " pay him honour as a brave man; for to do us ſer- " vice he has thrown himſelf into dangers, and has " borne that load of reproach that fell ſo heavy upon " him."—Upon this, they all embraced *Araſpes*, and gave him their right-hand.

THEN *Cyrus*, telling them that there was enough of this, ſaid: " Give us an account, *Araſpes*, of theſe " things, and do not abate any thing of the truth " with reſpect to the enemy's affairs; for it is better " that we ſhould think them greater, and ſee them " leſs, than hear them to be leſs, and find them " greater." " I acted (ſaid *Araſpes*) in ſuch a man- " ner, as to get the cleareſt inſight into them; for I " aſſiſted in perſon at the making their diſpoſition." " You therefore (ſaid *Cyrus*) know not only their " numbers, but their order too." " Yes, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Araſpes*,) " and I know the manner that they " intend to engage in."—" But in the firſt place, tell " us however, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) in general, what their " numbers are?"—" Well then, (ſaid he,) they are all " ranged thirty in depth, both foot and horſe, except " the *Ægyptians*, and they extended in front forty " ſtades, for I took very great care to know what " ground they took up."—" And then as to the " *Ægyptians*, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) tell us how they are ranged,

" for

" for you ſaid, except the *Ægyptians*."—" The com-
" manders of ten thouſand formed each of their bodies
" into a hundred every way; for this they ſay is their
" order according to their cuſtom at home; but
" *Cræſus* allowed them to form in this manner very
" much againſt his will, for he was deſirous to over-
" front your army as much as poſſible."—" And
" why (ſaid *Cyrus*) does he deſire this?"—" Why,
" by *Jove*, (ſaid he,) in order to encompaſs you with
" that part that exceeds you in front."—Then *Cyrus*
ſaid, " But let them look to it, that the encom-
" paſſers be not themſelves encompaſſed. But we
" have heard what is proper for us to be informed
" of by you, and you, my friends, muſt act in this
" manner.

" As ſoon as you go from hence, examine the
" arms that belong both to the horſes and to your-
" ſelves, for frequently, by the want of a little thing,
" both man and horſe and chariot become uſeleſs.
" To-morrow in the morning, whilſt I ſacrifice, you
" muſt firſt get your dinners, both men and horſe,
" that whatever opportunity of action offers itſelf, we
" may not balk it; then do you, *Araſpes*, keep the
" right wing as you do now, and let the other com-
" manders of ten thouſand keep the ſtations they now
" are in; for when a race is juſt ready to be entered
" upon, there is no longer opportunity for any cha-
" riot to ſhift horſes. Give orders to the ſeveral
" colonels and captains to form into a phalanx, with
" each company drawn up two in front;"—and each

company

company conſiſted of four and twenty men. Then one of the commanders of ten thouſand ſaid: "And "do you think, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) that when we are "ranged but ſo many deep, we ſhall be ſtrong "enough againſt phalanxes of that great depth?"

AND *Cyrus* replied: "Phalanxes that are deeper "than to be able to reach the enemy with their "weapons, what injury (ſaid he) do you think they "will do to the enemy, or what ſervice to their fellow-"combatants? For my part, (ſaid he,) thoſe ſoldiers "that are ranged a hundred in depth, I would rather "chuſe to have ranged ten thouſand in depth; for by "that means we ſhould have the fewer to engage; "but by the number of men that form our phalanx "in depth, I reckon to make the whole act and "ſupport itſelf. The throwers of the javelin I will "range behind the croſſet men, and behind the "throwers of the javelin the archers; for who would "place thoſe in front who themſelves confeſs that "they cannot bear any engagement hand to hand? "But when the croſſet-men are interpoſed before "them, then they ſtand; and the one caſting their "javelins, and the other diſcharging their arrows "over the heads of thoſe that are ranged before "them, do execution upon the enemy; and as "much miſchief as any one does the enemy, it is "plain that ſo far he gives relief to his fellow-com-"batants. Laſt of all, I will place thoſe that are "called the rear; for as a houſe without a ſtrong "ſtone-work, and without men that have the ſkill

"to

" to form the roof, is of no value, ſo neither is a " phalanx of any value without ſuch as are ſervice- " able both to the front and rear. Do you, then, (ſaid he,) " form as I order you; and do you, com- " manders of the javelin men, form your ſeveral com- " panies in the ſame manner behind theſe: Do you, " commanders of the archers, form in the ſame man- " ner behind the javelin-men; and you, who com- " mand the rear, with your men placed laſt, give " orders to thoſe under you, each of them to keep " his eye to thoſe before him, to encourage thoſe " that do their duty, to threaten ſeverely ſuch as be- " have cowardly, and if any one turn away with in- " tention to deſert his ſtation, to puniſh him with " death; for it is the buſineſs of thoſe that are placed " before, both by words and actions, to encourage " thoſe that follow; and you that are placed in the " rear of all muſt inſpire the cowardly with greater " terror than the enemies themſelves give them. " Theſe things do you do. And do you, *Abradatas*, " who command thoſe that belong to the engines, " take care that the oxen that draw the turrets, and " men belonging to them, follow up as cloſe to the " phalanx as poſſible. And do you, *Daouchus*, who " command the baggage train, lead up all that kind " of people behind the turrets and engines, and let " your attendants ſeverely puniſh thoſe that are either " more advanced or more behind than they ought to " be. And do you, *Cardouchus*, who command the " waggons that carry the women, place theſe laſt

" behind

" behind the baggage-train; for all these following
" each other will make the appearance of a great
" multitude, and will give us an opportunity of
" forming an ambuscade; and in case the enemy
" have a mind to encompass us, will oblige them to
" take a greater circuit, and the more ground they
" encompass, so much the weaker must they of ne-
" cessity be. And thus do you. But you, *Arta-*
" *bazus* and *Artagersas*, each of you, with the thou-
" sand foot that attended you, keep behind these.
" And you, *Pharnouchus* and *Asiadatas*, each with
" your thousand horse, do not you form in the pha-
" lanx, but arm by yourselves behind the waggons,
" and then come to us, together with the rest of the
" commanders; but you ought to prepare yourselves
" as being the first to engage. And do you, who
" are the commanders of the men mounted upon
" the camels, form behind the waggons, and act as
" *Artagersas* shall order you. And of you, leaders
" of the chariots, let that man range his hundred
" chariots in front before the phalanx who obtains
" that station by lot, and let the other hundreds at-
" tend the phalanx ranged upon the wings, one on
" the right side and the other on the left."

THUS *Cyrus* ordered.—But *Abradatas*, king of the *Susians*, said, " I take it voluntarily upon myself,
" *Cyrus*, to hold to that station in front against the
" opposite phalanx, unless you think otherwise."—
Then *Cyrus*, being struck with admiration of the man, and taking him by the right hand, asked the

Persians

Perſians that belonged to others of the chariots, "Do "you (ſaid he) yield to this?" When they replied, that it would not be handſome in them to give it up, he brought them all to the lot, and by the lot *Abradatas* obtained what he had taken upon himſelf, and he ſtood oppoſite to the *Ægyptians*. Then going their way, and taking care of the things that were before-mentioned, they took their ſuppers, and having placed their guards, they went to reſt.

THE next day, in the morning, *Cyaxares* ſacrificed, but the reſt of the army, after having taken their dinners, and made their libations, equipped themſelves with fine coats in great number, and with many fine croſlets and helmets; the horſes likewiſe they armed with forehead-pieces and breaſt-plates, the ſingle horſes with thigh-pieces, and thoſe in the chariots with plates upon their ſides; ſo that the whole army glittered with the braſs, and appeared beautifully decked with ſcarlet habits.

The chariot of *Abradatas*, that had four perches and eight horſes, was compleatly adorned for him; and when he was going to put on his linen croſlet, which was a ſort of armour uſed by thoſe of his country, *Panthea* brought him a golden helmet and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wriſts, a purple habit that reached down to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom, and a creſt dyed of a violet colour. Theſe things ſhe had made unknown to her huſband, and by taking the meaſure of his armour. He wondered when he ſaw them, and enquired thus of

Panthea.

Panthea. "And have you made theſe arms, woman! "by deſtroying your own ornaments?" "No, by "*Jove!* (ſaid *Panthea*,) not what is the moſt valuable "of them; for it is you, if you appear to others to "be what I think you, that will be my greateſt orna-"ment."—And ſaying this, ſhe put him on the armour; and though ſhe endeavoured to conceal it, the tears poured down her cheeks. When *Abradatas*, who was before a man of fine appearance, was ſet out in theſe arms, he appeared the moſt beautiful and noble of all, eſpecially being likewiſe ſo by nature. Then taking the reins from the driver, he was juſt preparing to mount the chariot; upon this, *Panthea*, after ſhe had deſired all that were there preſent to retire, ſaid —

"O, *Abradatas!* if ever there was another woman "who had greater regard to her huſband than to her "own ſoul, I believe you know that I am one of "them! What need I therefore ſpeak of things in "particular? for I reckon that my actions have con-"vinced you more than any words I can now uſe. "And yet, though I ſtand thus affected towards you, "as you know I do, I ſwear by this friendſhip of "mine and yours, that I certainly would rather "chuſe to be put under ground jointly with you, "approving yourſelf a brave man, than to live with "you in diſgrace and ſhame; ſo much do I think "you and myſelf worthy of the nobleſt things! "Then I reckon we both lie under a great obliga-

" tion to *Cyrus*; that when I was a captive, and " choſen out for himſelf, he thought fit to take me " neither as a ſlave, nor indeed as a free-woman of " mean account; but he took and kept me for you, " as if I were his brother's wife: Beſides, when *A-* " *raſpes*, who was my guard, went away from him, " I promiſed him, that if he would allow me to ſend " for you, you would come to him, and approve " yourſelf a much better and more faithful friend " than *Araſpes*."

Thus ſhe ſpoke. And *Abradatas*, being ſtruck with admiration at her diſcourſe, laying his hand gently upon her head, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, made this prayer.—" Do thou, O greateſt *Jove!* " grant me to appear a huſband worthy of *Panthea!* " and a friend worthy of *Cyrus*, who has done us ſo " much honour!"

Having ſaid this, he mounted the chariot by the door of the driver's ſeat; and after his being got up, when the driver ſhut the door of the ſeat, *Panthea*, who had now no other way to ſalute him, kiſſed the ſeat of the chariot. The chariot then moved on; and ſhe, unknown to him, followed, till *Abradatas* turning about and ſeeing her, ſaid, " Take courage, " *Panthea!*—Fare you happily and well! and now " go your ways." Upon this her eunuchs and women-ſervants took and conducted her to her conveyance, and laying her down, concealed her by throwing the covering of a tent over her. The peo-

ple,

ple, though *Abradatas* and his chariot made a noble ſpectable, were not able to look at him till *Panthea* was gone.

But when *Cyrus* had happily ſacrificed, the army was formed for him according to his orders; and taking poſſeſſion of the viewing ſtations one before another, he called the leaders together and ſpoke thus:

" Friends and fellow-ſoldiers! The gods, in our " ſacred rites, have expoſed to us the ſame happy " ſigns they did before when they gave us victory: " And I am deſirous to put you in mind of ſome " ſuch things, as by your recollecting them, will, in " my opinion, make you march with much more " courage to the enemy. For you are better prac- " tiſed in the affairs of war than our enemies are; " and you have been bred up together in this, and " formed to it a much longer time than our enemies " have been. You have been fellow-conquerors to- " gether; whereas many of our enemies have been " fellow-ſharers in a defeat; and of thoſe on both " ſides that have not yet been engaged in action, " they that are of our enemy's ſide know, that they " have for their ſupports men that have been de- " ſerters of their ſtation, and run-aways; but you " that are with us know, that you act with men " zealous to aſſiſt their friends. It is probable then, " that they who have confidence in each other will " unanimouſly ſtand and fight, but they who diſtruſt

" each other will neceſſarily be every one contriving
" how they ſhall the ſooneſt get out of the way.
" Let us march then, my friends! to the enemy,
" with our armed chariots againſt thoſe of the enemy
" unarmed; with our cavalry in like manner, both
" men and horſes armed, againſt thoſe of the enemy
" unarmed, in order to a cloſe engagement. The
" reſt of the foot are ſuch as you have engaged
" already. But as for the *Ægyptians*, they are both
" armed and formed in the ſame manner, both
" equally ill; for they have ſhields larger than they
" can act or ſee with, and being formed an hundred
" in depth, it is evident they will hinder one ano-
" ther from fighting, except only a very few. If
" they think by their might in ruſhing on to make
" us give way, they muſt firſt ſuſtain our horſe, and
" ſuch weapons as are driven upon them by the force
" of horſes; and if any of them make ſhift to ſtand
" this, how will they be able to engage our horſe,
" our phalanx, and our turrets at the ſame time?
" For thoſe mounted on the turrets will come up to
" our aſſiſtance, and by doing execution upon the
" enemy, will make them, inſtead of fighting, be
" confounded, and not know what to do.—If you
" think that you are ſtill in want of any thing, tell
" me; for, with the help of the gods, we will be
" in want of nothing.—And if any one have a mind
" to ſay any thing, let him ſpeak, if not, go your
" ways to ſacred affairs; and having made your

" prayers

" prayers to the gods to whom we have ſacrificed,
" then go to your ranks; and let every one of you
" remind thoſe that belong to him, of the things
" which I have put you in mind of: And let every
" one make it appear to thoſe whom he commands,
" that he is worthy of command, by ſhewing him-
" ſelf fearleſs in his manner, his countenance, and
" his words."

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK VII.

THESE men having made their prayers to the gods, went away to their ranks. And the ſervants brought meat and drink to *Cyrus*, and to thoſe that were with him, while they were yet taken up in their holy-rites. *Cyrus*, ſtanding as he was, and beginning with the offering to the gods, took his dinner, and diſtributed around always to the man that moſt wanted. Then having made his libations and prayed, he drank, and the reſt that were with him did the ſame. After this was done, and he had made ſupplication to *Jove-Paternal*, to be their leader and ſupport, he mounted his horſe, and ordered thoſe about him to do the ſame. All they that were with *Cyrus*, were armed with the

ſame arms that he was; in ſcarlet-habits, braſs-corſelets, braſs-helmets, white creſts, ſwords, and every one with a ſingle ſpear made of the *cornel-tree*. Their horſes were armed with forehead-pieces, breaſt-plates, and ſide-pieces, and theſe ſerved as thigh-pieces to the rider. Thus much only did the arms of *Cyrus* differ from the others, that theſe were done over with a golden-colour, but thoſe of *Cyrus* caſt a brightneſs like a mirrour. When he was mounted, and ſtood looking which way he was to go, it thundered to the right. He then ſaid, "We "will follow thee, *O greateſt Jove!*" And he ſet forward with *Chryſantas*, a commander of horſe, and his body of horſe upon his right-hand; and *Araſambas* with his body of foot, upon his left. He gave orders that all ſhould have their eyes to his enſign, and follow on an even pace. His enſign was a golden eagle held up upon the top of a long launce. And this remains the enſign of the *Perſian* king to this day. Before they got ſight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times. When they had marched on about twenty ſtades, they began then to obſerve the enemies army advancing; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemies found that they exceeded very much in front on both ſides; then making their own phalanx halt (for otherwiſe there was no fetching a compaſs to encloſe the oppoſite army) they bent themſelves in order to take that compaſs; that, by having diſpoſed themſelves

ſelves into the form of the letter Gamma Γ on each ſide, they might engage on every ſide at once.

CYRUS, ſeeing this, did not ſlacken his pace for it, but led on juſt as before. And taking notice at how great a diſtance on each ſide they took their compaſs, and extended their wings around, "Do you "obſerve, (ſaid he,) *Chryſantas!* where they take "their compaſs?"—"Yes, (ſaid *Chryſantas*;) and I "wonder at it, for to me they ſeem to draw off their "wings very far from their own phalanx."—"Yes, "by *Jove!* (ſaid *Cyrus*,) and from ours too, and "what is the meaning of this? It is plainly, (ſaid he,) "becauſe they are afraid, in caſe their wings get "near to us, while their phalanx is yet at a diſtance, "that we ſhall charge them."—"Then, (ſaid *Chry-ſantas*,) "how will they be able to be ſerviceable "to one another when they are at ſuch a diſtance "from each other?"—"It is plain, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) "that when their wings have gained ſo much ground "as to be over againſt the ſides of our army, then "turning themſelves and forming in front, they will "march upon us on every ſide, that they may en-"gage on every ſide at once."—"And, do not you "think then, (ſaid *Chryſantas*,) that they contrive "well?"—"Yes, with reſpect to what they ſee, but "with reſpect to what they do not ſee, they con-"trive worſe than if they advanced upon us by their "wings. But do you, *Arſamas!* lead on quietly "with your foot, as you obſerve that I do. And "do you, *Chryſantas!* follow on with your horſe

"in

" in the ſame even pace. I will march away to the
" place where I think it proper to begin the en-
" gagement, and as I paſs on, I will view how we
" ſtand diſpoſed in every part. After I get to the
" place, and when we are marching up againſt each
" other, I will begin the hymn, and do you follow
" me. When we are engaged with the enemy you
" will perceive it, for I reckon there will be no
" ſmall noiſe and rout. Then will *Abradatas* ſet
" forward to charge the enemy with his chariots;
" for ſo it ſhall be told him to do. You muſt follow
" up immediately after the chariots, for by this
" means we ſhall fall upon the enemy while they are
" the moſt in diſorder. I will be myſelf at hand, as
" ſoon as I can, to purſue them; if the gods ſo
" pleaſe!"

HAVING ſaid this, and tranſmitted the word, which was this, " JOVE OUR SAVIOUR AND LEADER!" he then marched. And taking his way between the chariots and corſlet-men, and looking upon ſome of the men that were in the ranks, he then ſaid, " My friends! how pleaſing is it to ſee your coun-
" tenances!" Then to others he ſaid, " Conſider,
" my friends! that our preſent conteſt is not only
" for victory to-day, but to maintain the victory
" we gained before, and for all manner of happy
" ſucceſs hereafter! Then coming up with others, he ſaid: " From henceforward, my friends! we
" ſhall have no cauſe to blame the gods; for they
" have put it in our power to acquire many great

" advan-

"advantages to ourſelves. But then, my friends!
"let us be brave!" To others he ſpoke thus:
"My friends! to what nobler ſociety of friendſhip
"can we ever invite one another than to the preſent?
"For it is now in our power, by being brave men,
"to confer upon each other benefits in great num-
"ber." And to others again thus: "I believe you
"know, my friends! that the prizes now lie before
"you. And to the victors they are theſe; to pur-
"ſue, to deal their blows, to kill, to reap great
"advantage, to gain praiſe, to be free, and to rule.
"But the reverſe of theſe it is plain will be the lot
"of the cowardly. Whoever therefore has a kind-
"neſs for himſelf, let him fight after my example; for
"I will not willingly admit of any thing mean or
"baſe in my behaviour." When he came up with
others that had been in the engagement with him
before, he ſaid: "And to you, my friends! what
"ſhould I ſay? for you know how thoſe that are
"brave in action paſs the day, and how thoſe do it
"that are cowardly."

WHEN he was got over againſt *Abradatas*, as he paſſed along he ſtopped. And *Abradatas* delivering the reins to the driver, came to him; and ſeveral others that were poſted near, and belonged both to the foot and to the chariots, ran to him. And when they were come, he ſpoke to them in this manner: "As you deſired *Abradatas!* God has
"vouchſafed to grant the principal rank amongſt
"all us allies to thoſe that are with you; and when
"it

" it comes to your part to engage, remember! that " the *Perſians* are to ſee you, and to follow you, and " not ſuffer you to engage alone." Then *Abradatas* ſaid, " Affairs here with us, *Cyrus!* ſeem to ſtand upon a good " foot; but our flanks diſturb me. For along our " flanks, I obſerve are extended the enemy's wings " that are very ſtrong, and conſiſt of chariots and all " other military ſtrength: But of ours there's nothing " oppoſed to them but chariots; ſo that, (ſaid he,) " had not I obtained this poſt by the lot, I ſhould be a- " ſhamed to be here. So much do I think myſelf in " the ſafeſt ſtation." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " If things are " upon a good foot with you, be at eaſe as to them: " For, with the help of the gods! I will ſhew you " our flanks entirely clear of the enemy. And do " not you attack the enemy I charge you, before " you ſee thoſe people flying that you are now afraid " of." (Thus preſumptuouſly did he talk of the approaching engagement, though at other times he was not preſumptuous in his diſcourſe.) " But " when you ſee theſe men flying, then count upon " it that I am at hand and begin your attack, for you " will then deal with the enemy, while they are in " the greateſt conſternation, and your own men in " the moſt heart. But while you have leiſure, " *Abradatas!* drive along by your own chariots, " and exhort your people to the attack. Give " them courage by your countenance; raiſe them " with hopes, and inſpire them with emulation " to appear the braveſt among all that belong to the " chariots.

" chariots.—For be aſſured, that if things fall out " thus, they will all ſay for the future, that nothing " is more profitable than virtue and bravery." *Abradatas* mounting his chariot, drove along, and put theſe things in execution.

BUT *Cyrus* moving on again, when he came to the left, where *Hyſtaſpes* was with half the *Perſian* horſe, calling him by his name, ſaid, " *Hyſtaſpes!* " you now ſee work for your quickneſs in the exe- " cution of buſineſs; for if we are before-hand with " the enemy in charging and doing execution upon " them, we ſhall not loſe a man." *Hyſtaſpes*, laughing at this, ſaid, " We will take care of thoſe that " are over againſt us: Do you give ſome others " the charge of thoſe that are upon our flanks, " that they likewiſe may not be idle." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " I am going to thoſe myſelf. But remember " this, *Hyſtaſpes!* which ever of us it is that God " favours with victory, if the enemy make a ſtand " any where, let us always join in with our forces, " and charge where the fight continues." Having ſaid this, he moved on; and when in his paſſage he got to the flank, and to the commander of the chariots that were there poſted, he ſaid to him, " I am " come to your aſſiſtance. But when you perceive " us to have made our attack at the extremities, then " do you endeavour at the ſame time to make your " way through the enemy, for you will be much " ſafer when you are at large, than while you are en- " cloſed within them." Then paſſing on, when he

got

got behind the waggons, he ordered *Artagerſas* and *Pharnouchus*, each with his thouſand men, one of foot, and the other of horſe, there to remain. "And "when you perceive, (ſaid he,) that I have made my "attack upon thoſe that are poſted over againſt our "right wing, then do you charge thoſe that are over "againſt you. You will engage them by their "wing and in flank where an army is the weakeſt; "and with your own men formed into a phalanx; "that you yourſelves may be in that form and diſpo- "ſition which is the ſtrongeſt. Then the enemy's "horſe, as you ſee are the hindmoſt. By all means "therefore, advance the body of camels upon them, "and be aſſured, that before you come to engage, "you will ſee the enemy in a ridiculous condition." *Cyrus* having finiſhed theſe affairs, went on to the right wing.

And *Cræſus* judging that his phalanx that he marched with, was now nearer to the enemy than his extended wings; gave the ſignal to the wings, to march no farther on, but to turn about in the ſtation they were in. And as they all ſtood facing the army of *Cyrus*, he gave them the ſignal to march to the enemy. And thus three phalanxes advanced upon the army of *Cyrus*: One in front, and of the other two, one upon the right ſide, and the other upon the left: So that a very great terror ſeized the whole army of *Cyrus*. For juſt like a little brick placed within a large one, ſo was the army of *Cyrus* ſurrounded by the enemy, with their horſe, their heavy-armed

armed men, their ſhield-men, archers and chariots on every ſide, except upon the rear. However, when *Cyrus* gave the ſignal, they all turned and faced the enemy. And there was a deep ſilence on every ſide, in expectation and concern for the event. As ſoon as *Cyrus* thought it the proper time, he began the hymn; and the whole army ſung it with him. After this, they all of them together made a ſhout to the God of battle.

THEN *Cyrus* broke out, and inſtantly with his horſe taking the enemy in flank, fell in upon them as ſoon as poſſible. The foot that were with him in order of battle followed immediately, and they encloſed the enemy on each ſide; ſo that they had very much the advantage; for with a phalanx of their own, they charged the enemy upon their wing, ſo that the enemy preſently fled with the utmoſt ſpeed. As ſoon as *Artagerſas* perceived that *Cyrus* was engaged, he attacked upon the left, making the camels advance, as *Cyrus* had ordered. And the enemy's horſes even at a great diſtance were not able to ſtand them; but ſome of them run madly away, ſome ſtarted from their ranks, and others fell foul on one another, for thus are horſes always ſerved by camels. *Artagerſas* with his men formed, charged in good order, the enemy that were in confuſion. And the chariots, both to the right and left, fell on at the ſame time. Many of the enemy that fled from the chariots, were killed by thoſe that purſued the wing; and many of them

them in their flight from theſe were met by the chariots.

Abradatas then delayed no longer, but crying out with vehemence, "Follow me, my friends!" ruſhed on, without ſparing his horſes in any ſort, but with the ſpur fetched a great deal of blood of them. His other charioteers broke out with him. The chariots of the enemy immediately fled before them, ſome of them taking up their men that mounted them, and ſome leaving them behind. Then *Abradatas* making his way directly through theſe, fell in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, and they that were placed in order near him, fell on with him. Upon many other occaſions it has been made evident, that no phalanx can be of greater ſtrength, than when it is made up of joint combatants that are friends; and it was made evident upon this; for the companions and table acquaintance of *Abradatas* attacked jointly with him, but the other drivers, when they ſaw the *Ægyptians* in a compact body ſtand their ground, turned off to the chariots that were flying and purſued them. The *Ægyptians* not being able to make way, becauſe they who were on every ſide of them ſtood their ground, they that were with *Abradatas*, therefore, in that part where they fell on, running upon thoſe that ſtood againſt them, overturned them by the rapid courſe of the horſes; and thoſe that fell they tore to pieces, both men and arms, horſes and wheels; and whatever the ſcythes caught hold of they cut their way through by force, whether arms or bodies of men.

men. In this inexpreſſible confuſion, the wheels making their way by jolts over heaps of all kinds, *Abradatas* fell, as did likewiſe the reſt that broke in with him; and here were theſe brave men cut down and killed.

The *Perſians* who followed up after them, falling upon thoſe that were in diſorder, where *Abradatas* and his men had broke in, did execution upon them; but where the *Ægyptians* were undiſturbed, (and of theſe there were great numbers,) they marched up againſt the *Perſians*. Here began a terrible combat of lances, javelins, and ſwords; and the *Ægyptians* had the advantage, both by their multitude and by their arms; for their lances were very ſtrong and of great length, (ſuch as they yet uſe at this day;) and their large ſhields were a better defence to them than corſelets, and the leſs ſort of ſhield; and being faſtened to their ſhoulders, were of ſervice to them to make the ſtronger puſh. Therefore cloſing their large ſhields together, they moved and puſhed on. The *Perſians*, holding their leſs ſort of ſhields in their hands at arms-length, were not able to ſuſtain them, but retreated gradually, dealing and receiving blows till they came to the engines. When they got thither, the *Ægyptians* were again galled from the turrets; and they that were in the rear of all would not ſuffer either the archers or javelin-men to fly, but holding their ſwords at them, forced them to ſhoot and to throw; and great havock and deſtruction there was of men, great claſhing of arms and weapons of

all kinds, and great noiſe of people, ſome calling to each other, ſome making exhortations, and ſome calling upon the gods.

Upon this, *Cyrus* purſuing thoſe that were oppoſite to him, came up; and when he ſaw the *Perſians* forced from their ſtation, he was grieved; and knowing that he could by no other means ſooner ſtop the progreſs of the enemy forward, than by riding round and getting to their rear, he commanded thoſe that were with him to follow. He rode round and came up with their rear, where his men charging them, fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. The *Ægyptians*, as ſoon as they perceived this, cried out, that the enemy was behind them, and in this diſtreſs faced about. Here foot and horſe fought promiſcuouſly; and a man falling under *Cyrus*'s horſe, and being trampled upon, ſtruck his ſword into the horſe's belly; the horſe, thus wounded, toſſed and ſtaggered, and threw *Cyrus* off. Upon this occaſion one might ſee of what advantage it was, for a ruler to have the love of thoſe that are under his command; for all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought; they puſhed, and were themſelves puſhed in their turn; they gave blows, and received them; and one of the attendants of *Cyrus* leaping from his horſe, mounted *Cyrus* upon him. When *Cyrus* was mounted, he perceived that the *Ægyptians* were now hard-preſſed on every ſide, for *Hyſtaſpes* was come up with the *Perſian* horſe, and *Chryſantas* in like manner; but he would not now

ſuffer

ſuffer them to fall in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, but to gall them with arrows and javelins at a diſtance; this he gave them orders to do. Then in riding round, as he came up to the engines, he thought it proper to mount a turret, to view whether any body of the enemy made a ſtand and fought. When he was got up, he ſaw the whole plain full of horſes, men and chariots, ſome flying, ſome purſuing, ſome victorious, ſome defeated, the enemy flying, and his own men conquering; but he was no longer able to diſcover in any part, any that ſtood but the *Ægyptians*; and theſe, when they were at a loſs what to do, forming themſelves into a circle, with their arms turned to the view of their enemy, ſat quietly under the ſhelter of their ſhields, no longer acted, but ſuffered in a cruel manner.

Cyrus being ſtruck with admiration of theſe men, and touched with pity that ſuch brave men ſhould periſh, made all thoſe retreat that were engaged againſt them, and ſuffered none to continue fighting. He then ſent to them a herald to aſk "whether they intended to be all deſtroyed for men "that had deſerted and betrayed them, or whether "they choſe to be ſaved with the reputation of be-"ing brave men." Their reply was thus: "How "can we obtain ſafety and be reputed brave?" Then *Cyrus* again ſaid, "Becauſe we ſee, that you are the "only men that ſtand your ground and dare fight." "But then, (ſaid the *Ægyptians*,) what is it that we "can handſomely do, and obtain ſafety?" *Cyrus* to

this ſaid, "If you can obtain it without betraying any "of your allies and friends; if you deliver up your "arms to us, and become friends to thoſe who chooſe "to ſave you, when it is in their power to deſtroy "you." Having heard this, they aſked this queſtion: "If we become your friends, *Cyrus!* how will you "think fit to deal with us?" *Cyrus* replied, "Both to "do you good offices, and to receive them from you." Then the *Ægyptians* again aſked, "What good "offices?" And to this *Cyrus* ſaid, "As long as "the war continues, I will give you larger pay than "you now receive; when we have peace, to every "one of you that will ſtay with me, I will give "lands, cities, women and ſervants." The *Ægyptians* hearing this, "begged that they might be ex-"empted from engaging in war with him againſt "*Cræſus*. For he was the only one, they ſaid, that "they forgave." But conſenting to all the reſt, they on both ſides pledged their faith reciprocally. The *Ægyptians* that then remained continue ſtill to this day faithful to the king. And *Cyrus* gave them the cities, *Lariſſa* and *Cyllene*, that are called the cities of the *Ægyptians*, and lie up in the country, in the neighbourhood of *Cuma*, near the ſea; and their poſterity have them at this day in their poſſeſſion.

CYRUS having performed all theſe things, and it now growing dark, retreated; and he encamped at *Thybarra*. ——— In this battle, the *Ægyptians* only of all the enemies people gained reputation. And of

thoſe that were with *Cyrus*, the *Perſian cavalry* were thought to have been the beſt. So that the ſame ſort of arms that *Cyrus* at that time equipp'd his horſemen with, continue yet in uſe. The chariots that carried ſcythes gained likewiſe great fame. So that this remains yet the chariot for war in uſe with the prince ſtill reigning on in ſucceſſion. The camels did no more than fright the horſes; they that mounted them did no execution upon the horſe-men, nor were they any of them themſelves killed by the horſe-men, for no horſe would come near them. This was then reckoned of uſe. But no brave man will breed a camel for his own mounting, nor exerciſe and manage them, as intending to ſerve in war upon them, ſo that taking up their old form again, they keep in the baggage train. *Cyrus*'s men having taken their ſuppers and placed their guards as was proper, went to reſt.

BUT *Cræſus* immediately fled with his army to *Sardes*. The other nations retreated as far as they could in the night, taking their ſeveral ways home As ſoon as it was day, *Cyrus* led the army to *Sardes*; and when he got up to the walls of the place, he raiſed engines, as intending to form an attack upon the walls, and provided ladders. Whilſt he was doing theſe things, the next night he made the *Chaldæans* and *Perſians* mount that part of the *Sardian* fortifications that was thought the moſt [redacted]acceſſible; and a certain *Perſian* led them the way, who had been a ſlave to one of the garriſons in the citadel, and had learnt

the deſcent down to the river and the aſcent from it. As ſoon as it was known that the heights above were taken, all the *Lydians* fled from the walls, every one ſhifting for themſelves as they were able. *Cyrus*, as ſoon as it was day, entered the city, and gave out orders, that no one ſhould ſtir from rank. *Cræſus* ſhut up in his palace, called out upon *Cyrus*, but *Cyrus*, leaving a guard upon *Cræſus*, turned off and mounted up to the caſtle that was taken.

And when he ſaw the *Perſians* keeping guard there, as became them, and the arms of the *Chaldæans* left alone, (for they themſelves were run down to plunder the houſes) he preſently ſummoned their commanders and bid them quit the army immediately. "For I cannot bear, ſaid he, to ſee diſorderly men "get the advantage of others. And be it known to "you! ſaid he, I was providing to manage ſo, as to "make all the *Chaldæans* pronounce thoſe fortunate "and happy that engaged with me in the war. But "now, ſaid he, do not wonder if ſomebody ſuperior to "you in ſtrength, happen to meet with you as you "go off." The *Chaldæans* hearing this, were in great terror, "begged him to allay his anger, and "ſaid, that they would reſtore him all the rich effects "they had taken." He told them, "that he was "not in any want of them; but, ſaid he, if you "would eaſe me of my trouble and concern, give "up all that you have got, to thoſe that keep guard "in the caſtle. For when the reſt of the ſoldiers find "that the orderly are the better for their being ſo, all

"will

" will be well with me." The *Chaldæans* did as *Cyrus* had commanded them, and they that had been obedient to their orders, got a great many rich effects of all kinds. Then *Cyrus* having encamped his men towards that part of the city that he thought the moſt convenient, gave them all orders to ſtand to their arms, and take their dinners; and having done this, he ordered *Cræſus* to be brought to him.

CROESUS, as ſoon as he ſaw *Cyrus*, ſaid, " Joy and happineſs to you! my Sovereign Lord! " For from hence forward, fortune has ordered you " to receive that name, and me to give it you." " The ſame I wiſh to you, *Cræſus*, ſaid he, ſince we " are men both of us. But *Cræſus!* ſaid he, would " you give me a little advice." " I wiſh, *Cyrus!* " ſaid he, that I were able to find any good for you; " for I believe it might be of advantage to myſelf." " Hear then, *Cræſus* ſaid he, — obſerving that the " ſoldiers after having undergone many fatigues, " and run many dangers, reckon themſelves now in " poſſeſſion of the richeſt city in *Aſia*, next to *Babylon*; I think it fit that they ſhould receive ſome " profit in return. For I make accounts, ſaid he, that " unleſs they receive ſome fruit of their labours, I " ſhall not have them long obedient to my orders. " But I am not willing to give them up the city to " plunder. For I believe, that the city would be " deſtroyed by it; and in a plunder, I know very " well, that the worſt of our men, would have the " advantage of the beſt."—*Cræſus* hearing this, ſaid,

" Allow me, ſaid he, to ſpeak to ſuch of the *Lydians*
" as I think fit, and to tell them, that I have pre-
" vailed with you, not to plunder nor to ſuffer our
" wives and children to be taken from us; but
" have promiſed you that in lieu of theſe, you ſhall
" certainly have from the *Lydians* of their own ac-
" cord, whatever there is of worth and value in
" *Sardes*. For when they hear this, I know they will
" bring out, whatever there is here of value in the
" poſſeſſion either of man or woman. And yet by
" that time the year comes about, the city will be
" again in like manner full of things of value in
" great abundance. But if you plunder it, you will
" have all manner of arts, that are called the ſprings
" of riches and of all things valuable, deſtroyed.
" And then you are ſtill at liberty after you have ſeen
" this, to come and conſult, whether you ſhall plun-
" der the city or no. Send, ſaid he, in the firſt place
" to my treaſures, and let your guards take them
" from thoſe that have the keeping them for me."

CYRUS agreed to act in all things as *Cræſus* ſaid. " But, by all means, ſaid he, tell me, how
" things have fallen out, in conſequence of the an-
" ſwers you received upon your application to the
" *Delphian* oracle? For you are ſaid to have paid
" the utmoſt devotion to *Apollo*, and to have done
" every thing at his perſuaſion." " Indeed, *Cyrus!*
" ſaid he, I could wiſh that things ſtood thus with
" me. But now have I gone on immediately from
" the beginning, doing things in direct oppoſition

" to

" to *Apollo*." " How ſo! ſaid *Cyrus*, pray inform " me; for you tell me things that are unaccounta- " ble." " Becauſe, ſaid he, in the firſt place, neg- " lecting to conſult the God in what I wanted, I made " trial of him whether he was able to tell the truth. " Now not only a God, but even men that are of " worth, when they find themſelves diſtruſted, have " no kindneſs for thoſe that diſtruſt them. And af- " ter he had found me doing things that were abſurd, " and knew that I was at a great diſtance from *Delphi*, " then I ſent to conſult concerning my having ſons. " He at firſt made me no anſwer; but by my ſend- " ing him many preſents of gold, and many of ſilver, " and by making multitudes of ſacrifices, I had ren- " dered him propitious to me as I thought, and he " then, upon my conſulting him what I ſhould do " that I might have ſons, anſwered, " that I ſhould " have them." " And I had them; for neither in " this, did he deal falſly with me. But when I had " them, they were of no advantage to me, for one of " them continues dumb, and he that was the beſt of " them periſhed in the flower of his age. Being af- " flicted with the misfortune of my ſons, I ſent again, " and enquired of the God, what to do, that I " might paſs the remainder of my life in the happieſt " manner?" And he made anſwer, " O *CROESUS!* " BY THE KNOWLEDGE OF THY SELF, THOU WILT " PASS THY DAYS IN HAPPINESS!" " When I heard " this oracle, I was pleaſed with it, for I thought he " had granted me happineſs, by commanding me to

" do

" do the eafieſt thing that could be. For of the reſt
" of men, ſome I thought, it was poſſible for one
" to know, and ſome not; but that every man knew
" what he was himſelf. After this, during the whole
" time that I continued in peace, and after the death
" of my ſon, I accuſed my fortune in nothing.
" But when I was perſuaded by the *Aſſyrian* to make
" war upon you, I fell into all manner of dangers,
" but came off ſafe without getting any harm. Now
" neither in this can I lay any thing to the God's
" charge; for after I knew myſelf not to be ſuffici-
" ent to make war with you, with the help of the
" God! I came off with ſafety, both myſelf, and
" thoſe that attended me. But then again, being
" as it were diſſolved, by the riches I was poſſeſſed
" of, by thoſe that begged me to be their chief, by
" the preſents they made me, and by men that in
" flattery told me, that if I would take upon me the
" command, all men would obey me, and I ſhould
" be the greateſt of men; and being puffed up by
" diſcourſes of this kind, as all the kings around
" choſe me their chief in the war, I accepted the
" command, as if I were ſufficient to be the firſt of
" men, ignorant of myſelf, in imagining that I was
" able to make war with you! you, who in the firſt
" place are deſcended from the Gods, are born of a
" race of kings; and have been from a boy exer-
" ciſed to virtue. But of my own anceſtors, the firſt
" that reigned, I have heard became a king and a
" free-man at the ſame time. Having been there-

" fore

"fore (ſaid he,) thus ignorant, I am juſtly pu-
"niſhed for it. But now, (ſaid he,) *Cyrus!* I know
"myſelf!—And can you yet think that the words
"of *Apollo* are true, that by knowing myſelf I ſhall
"be happy?—Of you I make the enquiry, for this
"reaſon, becauſe you ſeem to me to be the beſt able
"to gueſs at it at this time, for you can make it
"good."

THEN *Cyrus* ſaid, "Do you give me your opinion,
"*Cræſus*, upon this; for taking into conſideration
"your former happineſs, I have compaſſion for you,
"and now give up into your poſſeſſion the wife
"that you have, together with your daughters,
"(for daughters I hear you have) your friends,
"ſervants and table that you uſed to keep; but com-
"bats and wars I cut you off from."—"By *Jove*,
"then, (ſaid *Cræſus*,) conſult no farther to make me
"an anſwer concerning my happineſs, for I tell you
"already, if you do theſe things for me that you ſay
"you will, that then I am already in poſſeſſion of
"that courſe of life that others have by my confeſſion
"thought the happieſt, and I ſhall continue on in it."
Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "Who is he that is in poſſeſſion of
"that happy courſe of life?" "My own wife,
"*Cyrus!* (ſaid he.) For ſhe ſhared equally with me
"in all tender good, pleaſing and agreeable things,
"but in the cares about the ſucceſs of theſe things
"in wars and battles, ſhe ſhared not at all. So
"that, in my opinion, you provide for me in the
"manner that I did for the perſon that of all man-

"kind

" kind I loved the moſt; ſo that I think myſelf in-
" debted to *Apollo* in ſome farther preſents of gratitude
" and thanks." — *Cyrus* hearing his diſcourſe, admired his good humour; and he carried him about with him wherever he went, either thinking that he was of uſe, or reckoning it the ſafeſt way to do ſo. Thus then they went to reſt.

THE next day *Cyrus* calling together his friends, and the commanders of the army, ordered ſome of them to receive the treaſures; and ſome to take from amongſt all the riches that *Cræſus* ſhould deliver up, firſt for the gods, ſuch of them as the mages ſhould direct; then to receive the reſt, put it into cheſts and pack it up in the waggons, putting the waggons to the lot, and ſo to convey it wherever they went, that when opportunity ſerved, they might every one receive their deſerved ſhare. Theſe men did ſo accordingly.

AND *Cyrus* calling to ſome of his ſervants that were there attending him; " Tell me, (ſaid he,) have any
" of you ſeen *Abradatas*," for I admire that he who
" was ſo frequently in our company before, now does
" not appear." One of the ſervants, therefore, replied, " My ſovereign! it is, becauſe he is not living,
" but died in the battle, as he broke in with his
" chariots upon the *Ægyptians*. All the reſt of them,
" except his particular companions, they ſay, turn-
" ed off when they ſaw the *Ægyptians* compact body.
" His wife is now ſaid to have taken up his dead
" body, to have placed it in the carriage that ſhe

" herſelf

"herſelf was conveyed in, and to have brought it "hither to ſome place upon the river *Pactolus*, and "her eunuchs and ſervants, they ſay, are digging "a grave for the deceaſed upon a certain elevation. "They ſay that his wife, after having ſet him out "with all the ornaments ſhe has, is ſitting upon the "ground with his head upon her knees." *Cyrus* hearing this, gave himſelf a blow upon the thigh, mounted his horſe preſently at a leap, and taking with him a thouſand horſe, rode away to this ſcene of affliction; but gave orders to *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, to take with them all the rich ornaments proper for a friend and an excellent man deceaſed, and to follow after him. And whoever had herds of cattle with him, he ordered them to take both oxen and horſes, and ſheep in good number, and to bring them away to the place where by enquiry they ſhould find him to be, that he might ſacrifice there to *Abradatas*.

As ſoon as he ſaw the woman ſitting upon the ground, and the dead body there lying; he ſhed tears at the afflicting ſight, and ſaid, "Alas! thou "brave and faithful ſoul! Haſt thou left us! and art "thou gone!"—At the ſame time, he took him by the right hand; and the hand of the deceaſed came away, for it had been cut off with a ſword by the *Ægyptians*. He, at the ſight of this, became yet much more concerned than before. The woman ſhrieked out in a lamentable manner, and taking the hand from *Cyrus*, kiſſed it, fitted it to its proper

place

place again, as well as ſhe could, and ſaid, "The "reſt, *Cyrus*, is in the ſame condition! but what need "you ſee it? And I know, that I was not one of the "leaſt concerned in theſe ſufferings! and perhaps you "were not leſs ſo! For I!—Fool that I was!—fre- "quently exhorted him to behave in ſuch a manner, "as to appear a friend to you! worthy of notice! "and I know, he never thought of what he himſelf "ſhould ſuffer, but of what he ſhould do to pleaſe "you!—He is dead therefore, ſaid ſhe, without re- "proach!—and I who urged him on, ſit here alive!" *Cyrus* ſhedding tears for ſome time in ſilence, then ſpoke:—"He has died, woman, the nobleſt death, "for he has died victorious! Do you adorn him with "theſe things that I furniſh you with!" (And *Gobrias* and *Gadatas* were then come up, and had brought rich ornaments in great abundance with them.) "Then, (ſaid he,) be aſſured, he ſhall not "want reſpect and honour in all other things! but "over and above, multitudes ſhall concur in raiſing "him a monument that ſhall be worthy of us! "and all the ſacrifices ſhall be made him that are "proper to be made in honour of a brave man!— "You, (ſaid he,) ſhall not be left deſtitute, but for "the ſake of your modeſty, and every other virtue, "I will pay you all other honours, as well as place "thoſe about you, who ſhall convey you wherever "you pleaſe. Do but you make it known to me "who it is that you deſire to be conveyed to." "And *Panthea* replied, "Be confident, *Cyrus*, (ſaid ſhe,

ſhe,) "I will not conceal from you who it is that I "deſire to go to!"

HE having ſaid this, went away with great pity for the woman, that ſhe ſhould have loſt ſuch a huſband, and for the man, that he ſhould have left ſuch a wife behind him, never to ſee her more. The woman gave order to her eunuchs to retire, "till ſuch "time (ſaid ſhe) as I have lamented my huſband as "I pleaſe!" Her nurſe ſhe bid to ſtay, and gave her orders, that when ſhe was dead ſhe ſhould wrap her and her huſband up in one mantle together. The nurſe, after having repeatedly begged her not to do thus, and meeting with no ſucceſs, but obſerving her to grow angry, ſat herſelf down, breaking out into tears. She being before-hand provided with a ſword, killed herſelf, and laying her head down upon her huſband's breaſt, ſhe died. The nurſe ſet up a lamentable cry, and covered them both as *Panthea* had directed.

CYRUS, as ſoon as he was informed of what the woman had done, being ſtruck with it, went to help her if he could. The eunuchs, being three in number, ſeeing what had been done, drew their ſwords and killed themſelves, as they ſtood at the place where ſhe had ordered them. And the monument is now ſaid to have been raiſed, by continuing the mount on to the eunuchs; and upon a pillar above they ſay the names of the man and of the woman were written in *Syriack* letters; below, they ſay, there were three pillars, and that they were inſcribed thus,

of

of the eunuchs. *Cyrus*, when he came to this melancholy ſcene, was ſtruck with admiration of the woman, and having lamented over her, went away. He took care of them as was proper, that all the funeral rites ſhould be paid them in the nobleſt manner; and the monument, they ſay, was raiſed up to a very great ſize.

AFTER this, the *Carians* falling into factions, and the parties making war upon each other, and having their habitations in places of ſtrength, both called in *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* remaining at *Sardes*, made engines and battering-rams to demoliſh the walls of thoſe that ſhould refuſe to ſubmit, and ſent *Aduſius*, a *Perſian*, one who was not unable in other reſpects, nor unſkilled in war, and a very agreeable man, into *Caria*, and gave him an army. The *Cilicians* and *Cyprians* very readily engaged with him in that ſervice: for which reaſon he never ſent a *Perſian* as governor over the *Cilicians* or *Cyprians*, but contented himſelf with their national kings, only receiving a tribute from them, and appointing them their quotas for military ſervice whenever he ſhould want them. *Aduſius*, at the head of his army, came into *Caria*; and from both parties of the *Carians* there were people that came to him, and were ready to admit him into their places of ſtrength, to the prejudice of their oppoſite faction.

ADUSIUS behaved to both in this manner: Whichever of the parties he conferred with, he told them that what they ſaid was juſt; he ſaid, that they muſt needs

needs keep it concealed from their antagoniſts; that he and they were friends; that by this means he might fall upon their antagoniſts whilſt they were the moſt unprepared. As teſtimonials of their faith, he required, that the *Carians* ſhould ſwear, without fraud, to admit him and his people into their places of ſtrength, for the ſervice of *Cyrus* and of the *Perſians*, and he would himſelf make oath to enter their places of ſtrength for the ſervice of thoſe that admitted him. Having done this, then privately and unknown to each other, he appointed them both the ſame night; and that night he got within their walls and ſeized the fortifications of both. As ſoon as day came, he ſat himſelf between them with his army about him, and ſummoned the proper perſons on both ſides to attend. Theſe men, when they ſaw each other, were aſtoniſhed, and thought themſelves both deceived; and *Aduſius* ſpoke to this effect: "I ſwore to you, men of *Caria*, that I would, with-
"out fraud, enter your fortifications to the advan-
"tage of thoſe that admitted me; therefore, if I
"deſtroy either of you, I reckon that I have made
"this entry to the damage of the *Carians*; but if I
"procure you peace, and liberty to you both to
"cultivate your lands with ſecurity, I then reckon
"I am come for your advantage. From this day,
"therefore, it is your part to join in correſpondence
"with each other in a friendly manner, to cultivate
"your lands, to give and receive each others chil-
"dren mutually in marriage, and if any one attempt

"to deal unjuſtly in any of theſe matters, to all ſuch "*Cyrus* and we will be enemies." After this the gates of the fortreſſes were thrown open, the ways were full of people paſſing from one to another, the lands were full of labourers, they celebrated feſtivals in common, and all was full of peace and ſatisfaction.

MEAN while, there came people from *Cyrus* to enquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement or engines. *Aduſius* returned anſwer, that for the preſent he might turn his forces another way; and at the ſame time that he made his anſwer, he led the army away, leaving garriſons in the caſtles. The *Carians* prayed him to ſtay, and upon his refuſal they ſent to *Cyrus*, begging him to ſend *Aduſius* to them as their governor. *Cyrus*, mean while, had ſent *Hyſtaſpes* away with an army to *Phrygia*, on the *Helleſpont*. And when *Aduſius* arrived, he ordered him to lead his army on the way that *Hyſtaſpes* was gone before, that thoſe people might the more readily ſubmit to *Hyſtaſpes*, when they heard that there was another army advancing. The *Greeks* that inhabited upon the ſea-ſide prevailed, by many preſents, not to admit the Barbarians within their walls, but they engaged to pay a tribute, and ſerve in war where *Cyrus* ſhould command them. The King of *Phrygia* prepared himſelf, as intending to keep poſſeſſion of his places of ſtrength, and not to ſubmit, and he ſent word accordingly. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, he became deſtitute,

deſtitute, and at laſt fell into the hands of *Hyſtaſpes*, to receive the puniſhment that *Cyrus* ſhould think fit to inflict upon him. *Hyſtaſpes* then leaving ſtrong *Perſian* garriſons in the caſtles, went away, and together with his own men carried off conſiderable numbers of the *Phrygians*, both horſe and ſhield-men. *Cyrus* ſent orders to *Aduſius* to join *Hyſtaſpes*, and to take ſuch of the *Phrygians* as took part with them, and bring them away with their arms; but ſuch as had ſhown an inclination to make war upon them, to take both their horſes and arms from them, and command them all to attend them with ſlings. Theſe men did accordingly.

Cyrus then ſet forward from *Sardes*, leaving there a numerous *Perſian* garriſon, and taking *Cræſus* with him, and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of rich effects of all kinds. And *Cræſus* came to him with an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and delivering the writings to *Cyrus*, ſaid, "By theſe, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) you will know who it is "that juſtly delivers the things that he takes with "him into his charge, and who it is that does not." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "You do extremely well, *Cræſus*, "in being thus provident and careful; but they "that have the charge of theſe things for me, are "ſuch as deſerve to have them, ſo that if they ſteal "any of them, they ſteal what belongs to themſelves." At the ſame time he delivered the writings to his friends and chief officers, that they might know which of thoſe that were intruſted with theſe

things delivered them up to them ſafe, and which of them did not. Such of the *Lydians* as he ſaw ſetting themſelves out handſomely in their arms, horſes, and chariots, and uſing all their endeavours to do what they thought would pleaſe him, theſe he took with him in arms; but from thoſe that he ſaw attended with diſſatisfaction, he took their horſes, and gave them to the *Perſians* that firſt engaged in the ſervice with him; he burnt their arms, and obliged them to follow with ſlings; and all thoſe that he diſarmed of the ſeveral nations that he ſubjected, he obliged them to practiſe the ſling, reckoning it a ſervile ſort of arm. For there are occaſions when ſlingers, accompanied with other forces, are of very great uſe, but when a force conſiſts all of ſlingers, they are not able of themſelves to ſtand againſt a very few men that march up cloſe upon them, with arms proper for cloſe engagement.

In his march to *Babylon* he overthrew the *Phrygians* of the *Greater Phrygia*. He overthrew the *Cappadocians*, and he ſubjected the *Arabians*; and out of all theſe he armed no leſs than forty thouſand *Perſian* horſemen. Abundance of the horſes that belonged to priſoners taken he diſtributed amongſt all his allies. He came at laſt to *Babylon*, bringing with him a mighty multitude of horſe, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin-men, but ſlingers innumerable.

When *Cyrus* got to *Babylon* he poſted his whole army round the city, then rode round the city himſelf,

ſelf, together with his friends, and with ſuch of his allies as he thought proper. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared for drawing off the army from before the city; and a certain deſerter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he drew off the army. "For as they "took their view from the walls, (ſaid he,) your "phalanx appeared to them to be but weak." And no wonder that it really was ſo; for his men encompaſſing a great extent of wall, the phalanx was of neceſſity to be drawn out into but little depth. *Cyrus* having heard this, and ſtanding in the center of his army with thoſe that were about him, gave orders that the heavy armed men from both the extremities folding up the phalanx, ſhould move away along by that part of the army that ſtood ſtill, till each extremity came up and joined in the center. Upon their doing this, therefore, it gave the greater courage to thoſe that ſtood, becauſe they were now of double the depth they were of before; and it gave courage in like manner to thoſe that moved away, for they that ſtood their ground were immediately upon the enemy. When both the extremities marched and joined up to each other, they ſtood ſtill, being now much the ſtronger; they that moved off, by means of thoſe that were before them, and they that were in front, by means of thoſe that were now behind them. The phalanx being thus folded up, the beſt men came of neceſſity to be ranged firſt and laſt, and the worſt in the middle; and a diſpoſition of

this kind ſeemed to be the beſt adapted, both for fighting and to prevent flight. Then the horſe and light-armed men upon the wings came up nearer always to the commander in chief, as the phalanx became leſs extended, by being thus doubled in depth. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, by falling back till they got perfectly out of weapons-caſt from the walls; when they were gotten out of weapons-caſt they turned, and moving forward a few ſteps, they turned again to their ſhields about and ſtood facing the walls; and the greater diſtance they were off, ſo much the ſeldomer they faced about; and when they thought themſelves ſafe, they made off in a continued march till they reached their tents.

When they were encamped, *Cyrus* ſummoned to him the proper perſons, and ſaid, "Friends and "allies! we have taken a view of the city round, "and I do not find, that I can diſcover, how it is "poſſible for one, by any attack, to make one's-ſelf "maſter of walls that are ſo ſtrong and ſo high. "But the greater the numbers of men in the city "are, (ſince they venture not out to fight,) ſo much "the ſooner, in my opinion, they may be taken by "famine; therefore, unleſs you have ſome other "method to propoſe, I ſay that theſe men muſt be "beſieged and taken in that manner." Then *Chryſantas* ſaid, "Does not this river, that is above "two ſtades over, run through the midſt of the "city?" "Yes, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Gobrias*,) and it is

"of

" of ſo great a depth, that two men, one ſtanding
" upon the other, would not reach above the water,
" ſo that the city is yet ſtronger by the river than by
" its walls." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " *Chryſantas*, let us
" lay aſide theſe things that are above our force. It
" is our buſineſs, as ſoon as poſſible, to dig as broad
" and as deep a ditch as we can, each part of us
" meaſuring out his proportion, that by this means
" we may want the fewer men to keep watch."

So meaſuring out the ground around the wall, and from the ſide of the river, leaving a ſpace ſufficient for large turrets, he dug round the wall on every ſide a very great ditch, and they threw up the earth towards themſelves. In the firſt place he built the turrets upon the river, laying their foundation upon palm-trees that were not leſs than a hundred feet in length; for there are thoſe of them that grow even to a yet greater length than that, and palm-trees that are preſſed bend up under the weight as aſſes do that are uſed to the pack-ſaddle. He placed the turrets upon theſe for this reaſon, that it might carry the ſtronger appearance of his preparing to block up the city, and as if he intended, that if the river made its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the turrets. He raiſed likewiſe a great many other turrets upon the rampart of earth, that he might have as many places as were proper for his watches. Theſe people were thus employed. But they that were within the walls laughed at this blockade, as being themſelves provided with neceſſaries for above twenty years.

Cyrus hearing this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he intended that each part ſhould ſerve upon the watch one month in the year. And when the *Babylonians* heard this, they laughed yet more than before; thinking with themſelves, that they were to be watched by the *Phrygians*, *Lycians*, *Arabians*, and *Cappadocians*, men that were better affected to them than they were to the *Perſians*. The ditches were now finiſhed.

And *Cyrus*, when he heard that they were celebrating a feſtival in *Babylon*, in which all the *Babylonians* drank, and revelled the whole night; upon that occaſion, as ſoon as it grew dark, took a number of men with him, and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water run off in the night by the ditches, and the paſſage of the river through the city became paſſable. When the affair of the river was thus managed, *Cyrus* gave orders to the *Perſian* commanders of thouſands, both foot and horſe, to attend him, each with his thouſand drawn up two in front, and the reſt of the allies to follow in the rear, ranged as they uſed to be before. They came accordingly. Then, he making thoſe that attended his perſon, both foot and horſe, to go down into the dry part of the river, ordered them to try whether the channel of the river was paſſable. And when they brought him word that is was paſſable, he then called together the commanders both of foot and horſe, and ſpoke to them in this manner:

"The

" THE river, my friends! has yielded us a paſ-
" ſage into the city. Let us boldly enter, and not
" fear any thing within, conſidering, that theſe
" people that we are now to march againſt, are the
" ſame that we defeated while they had their allies
" attending them, while they were awake, ſober,
" armed, and in order. But now we march to them
" at a time, that many of them are aſleep, many
" drunk, and all of them in confuſion, and when
" they diſcover that we are got in, they will then, by
" means of their conſternation, be yet more unfit
" for ſervice, than they are now. But in caſe any
" one apprehend, (what is ſaid to be terrible to thoſe
" that enter a city,) left mounting to the tops of
" their houſes, they diſcharge down upon us on every
" ſide: As to this, be ſtill more at eaſe. For if they
" mount to the tops of their houſes, we have then
" the God *Vulcan* for our fellow-combatant; their
" porches are eaſily ſet fire to, their doors are made of
" the palm-tree, and anointed over with bituminous
" matter, which will nouriſh the flame. We have
" torches in abundance, that will preſently take fire:
" We have plenty of pitch and tow, that will imme-
" diately raiſe a mighty flame; ſo that they muſt of
" neceſſity fly from off their houſes immediately, or
" immediately be burnt. Come on, then! take your
" arms, and with the help of the gods! I will lead
" you on. Do you, (ſaid he,) *Gobrias* and *Gadatas!*
" ſhew us the ways: For you are acquainted with
" them, and when we are got in, lead us the readieſt

" way

"way to the palace."—"It may be no wonder,
"perhaps, (ſaid they that were with *Gobrias*,) if the
"doors of the palace are open, for the city ſeems
"to-night to be in a general revel, but we ſhall
"meet with a guard at the gates; for there is al-
"ways one ſet there."—"We muſt not then be
"remiſs, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) but march, that we take them
"as much unprepared as is poſſible."

When this was ſaid, they marched; and of thoſe that they met with, ſome they fell upon and killed, ſome fled, and ſome ſet up a clamour. They that were with *Gobrias*, joined in the clamour with them, as if they were revellers themſelves, and marching on the ſhorteſt way that they could, they got round about the palace. Then they that attended *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* in military order, found the doors of the palace ſhut; and they that were poſted oppoſite to the guards fell in upon them, as they were drinking with a great deal of light around them, and uſed them immediately in a hoſtile manner. As ſoon as the noiſe and clamour began, they that were within perceiving the diſturbance, and the king commanding them to examine what the matter was, run out throwing open the gates. They that were with *Gadatas*, as ſoon as they ſaw the gates looſe, broke in, preſſing forward upon the run-aways, and dealing their blows amongſt them, they came up to the king, and found him now in a ſtanding poſture, with his ſword drawn. They that were with *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, being many in number, maſtered him;

they

they likewiſe that were with him were killed, one holding up ſomething before him, another flying, and another defending himſelf with any thing that he could meet with. *Cyrus* ſent a body of horſe up and down through the ſtreets, bidding them kill thoſe that they found abroad, and ordering ſome who underſtood the *Syrian* language to proclaim it to thoſe that were in the houſes to remain within, and that if any were found abroad they ſhould be killed. Theſe men did accordingly. *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* then came up, and having firſt paid their adoration to the gods for the revenge they had had upon their impious king, they then kiſſed the hands and feet of *Cyrus*, ſhedding many tears in the midſt of their joy and ſatisfaction.

WHEN day came, and they that guarded the caſtles perceived that the city was taken, and the king dead, they gave up the caſtles. *Cyrus* immediately took poſſeſſion of the caſtles, and ſent commanders with garriſons into them. He gave up the dead to be buried by their relations, and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that the *Babylonians* ſhould bring out their arms, and made it be declared, that in whatever houſe any arms ſhould be found, all the people in it ſhould ſuffer death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and *Cyrus* had them depoſited in the caſtles, that they might be ready in caſe he ſhould want them upon any future occaſion.

When theſe things had been done, then firſt ſummoning the mages, he commanded them to chooſe out for the Gods, the firſt fruits of certain portions of ground for ſacred uſe, as out of a city taken by the ſword. After this, he diſtributed houſes and palaces to thoſe that he reckoned had been ſharers with him in all the actions that had been performed. He made the diſtributions in the manner that had been determined; the beſt things to the beſt deſerving; and if any one thought himſelf wronged, he ordered him to come and acquaint him with it. He gave out orders to the *Babylonians*, to cultivate their land, to pay their taxes, and to ſerve thoſe that they were ſeverally given to. The *Perſians*, and ſuch as were his fellow-ſharers, and thoſe of his allies that choſe to remain with him, he ordered to talk as maſters of thoſe they had received.

After this, *Cyrus* deſiring now to ſet himſelf upon ſuch a foot as he thought becoming a King, that he might appear but ſeldom, and in an awful manner, with the leaſt envy that was poſſible, was of opinion to effect it with the conſent of his friends; he contrived it therefore in this manner: As ſoon as it was day, taking a ſtation in ſome place, where he thought it proper, he admitted any one that had a mind to ſpeak with him, and, after having given him his anſwer, diſmiſſed him. The people, as ſoon as they knew he gave admittance, reſorted to the place in diſorderly and unmanageable multitudes, and by their preſſing round about the entrance there

was

was a mighty ſtruggle and contention, and the ſervants that attended, diſtinguiſhing as well as they could, let them in. When any of his friends, by preſſing their way through the crowd, appeared before him, *Cyrus*, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and ſpoke to them thus: "Wait here, my "friends, till we have diſpatched the crowd, and then "we will confer at leiſure." His friends waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, till the evening came on upon them, before he could be at leiſure to confer with his friends. So *Cyrus* then ſpoke: "Now, good people! (ſaid he,) it is time to "ſeparate, come again to-morrow morning, for I "have a mind to have ſome diſcourſe with you." His friends, hearing this, run off and went their way with great ſatisfaction, having done penance in the want of all kind of neceſſaries. Thus they went to reſt.—The next day *Cyrus* attended at the ſame place; and a much greater multitude of people, that were deſirous to be admitted to him, ſtood round about, attending much ſooner than his friends. *Cyrus*, therefore, forming a large circle of *Perſian* lancemen, bid them let none paſs but his friends, and the *Perſian* commanders, and the commanders of his allies. When theſe men were met, he ſpoke to them to this effect:

"FRIENDS and allies! we have nothing that we "can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having "hitherto effected whatever we have wiſhed for. "But if this be the conſequence of performing great

"things,

" things, that one cannot obtain a little leiſure for
" one's ſelf, nor enjoy any ſatisfaction with one's
" friends, I bid farewel to ſuch happineſs. You
" obſerved, (ſaid he,) yeſterday, that beginning in
" the morning to give audience to thoſe that came,
" we did not make an end before the evening. And
" now you ſee that theſe, and many more than thoſe
" that attended yeſterday are here about, intending
" to give us trouble. If one ſubmit one's ſelf
" therefore to this, I reckon that but a very little
" part of me will fall to your ſhare, and but a little
" of you to mine. And in myſelf, I know very well,
" I ſhall have no ſhare at all. Beſides, (ſaid he,)
" there's another ridiculous thing that I take notice
" of. I ſtand affected to you, as it is natural for
" me to do. But of thoſe that ſtand here around, I
" may know here and there one, or perhaps none at
" all; and theſe men ſtand ſo diſpoſed, as to think,
" that if they can get the better of you in crowding,
" they ſhall effect what they deſire at my hands ſooner
" than you ſhall. Yet I ſhould think it proper,
" that if any of them want me, they ſhould make
" their court to you that are my friends, and beg to
" be introduced. But ſomebody then, perhaps,
" may ſay, Why did not I ſet myſelf upon this foot
" from the beginning, and why did I give myſelf up
" ſo in common? Why, becauſe I knew that the
" affairs of war were of ſuch a nature, that the com-
" mander ought not to be behind-hand either in
" knowing what was fit to be known, or in execut-
" ing what the occaſion required. And ſuch com-

" manders

" manders as were ſeldom to be ſeen, I thought, let
" ſlip many things that were proper to be done; but
" ſince war, that requires the utmoſt labour and di-
" ligence, is now ceaſed, my own mind ſeems to me
" to require ſome reſt. As I am therefore at a loſs
" what to do, that our own affairs, and thoſe of others
" that it is our part to take care of, may be eſta-
" bliſhed upon the beſt foot, let ſome one or other
" give us ſuch advice as he thinks the moſt advan-
" tageous." Thus *Cyrus* ſpoke.

THEN *Artabazus*, he who had ſaid heretofore that he was his relation, roſe up after him and ſpoke. " You have done very well, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) in be-
" ginning this diſcourſe; for while you were yet very
" young, I ſet out with a deſire to be your friend,
" but obſerving that you were not at all in want of
" me, I neglected coming to you. When you came
" afterwards to want me as a zealous deliverer of *Cy-*
" *axares*'s orders to the *Medes*, I counted upon it,
" that if I undertook this for you with zeal, I ſhould
" become your intimate friend, and converſe with
" you as long as I pleaſed. Theſe things were ſo
" effectually done, that I had your commendation.
" After this, the *Hyrcanians* firſt became our friends,
" and this while we were in great diſtreſs for aſſiſt-
" ants; ſo that in the tranſport we almoſt carried
" them about with us in our arms. After this, when
" the enemy's camp was taken, I did not think that
" you were at leiſure for me, and I excuſed you;
" after this, *Gobrias* became your friend, and I was

" rejoiced

" rejoiced at it; then *Gadatas* too, and it became a
" downright labour to ſhare of you. When the *Sa-*
" *cians* and *Caduſians* became your allies and friends,
" it was probably very fit for you to cultivate and
" ſerve them, for they had ſerved you. When we
" came back again to the place from whence we ſet
" out, then ſeeing you taken up with your horſe,
" your chariots, and your engines, I thought, that
" when you were at leiſure from all this, then you
" would have leiſure for me; but when the terrible
" meſſage came that all mankind were aſſembling
" againſt us, I determined with myſelf that this was
" the deciſive affair, and if things ſucceeded well
" here, I thought myſelf ſure that we ſhould then
" plentifully enjoy each other's company and con-
" verſe. Now we have fought the deciſive battle
" and conquered; we have *Sardes* and *Cræſus* in our
" hands; *Babylon* we have taken; and we have borne
" down all before us; and yet, by the god *Mithres!*
" yeſterday, had not I made my way with my fiſt
" through the multitude, I had not been able to get
" to you. And when you had taken me by the hand,
" and bid me ſtay by you, then there I ſtood to be
" gazed at for paſſing the whole day with you with-
" out either meat or drink: Now therefore, if any
" means can be found, that they who have been the
" moſt deſerving ſhall have the greateſt ſhare of you,
" it is well; if not, then would I again give out or-
" ders from you, that all ſhould depart, excepting us
" that have been your friends from the beginning."

At

AT this *Cyrus*, and many others, laughed. Then *Chryſantas*, the *Perſian*, roſe, and ſpoke thus: "Here-
"tofore, probably, *Cyrus*, you kept yourſelf open to
"the eyes of all, for the reaſons you have yourſelf
"expreſſed, and becauſe we were not the people
"that you were chiefly to cultivate; for we attended
"for our own ſakes, but your buſineſs was by all
"methods to gain the multitude, that they might,
"with all poſſible ſatisfaction, be ready to undergo
"labours, and run dangers with us. But ſince you
"are not only in circumſtances to do this, but are
"able to acquire others that you may have occaſion
"for, it is now very fit that you have a houſe your-
"ſelf; or what enjoyment can you have of your
"command, if you are the only one that does not
"ſhare at home? Than which there is no place that
"to men is more ſacred, none more agreeable to
"them, and none nearer to them in their affections:
"And then, (ſaid he,) do not you think, that we muſt
"be aſhamed to ſee you abroad faring hard, when
"we ourſelves are in houſes, and ſeem to have ſo
"much the advantage of you?"—When *Chryſantas* had ſaid this, many more concurred with him in it.

AFTER this he entered the royal palace, and they that conveyed the treaſures from *Sardes* delivered them up here. When *Cyrus* entered, he firſt ſacrificed to the goddeſs *Veſta*, and then to regal *Jove*, and to whatever other deity the Mages thought proper. Having done this, he now began to regulate other affairs; and conſidering what his buſineſs was,

and that he was taking upon him the government of great multitudes of men, he prepared to take up his habitation in the greateſt city of all that was of note in the world, and this city had as great enmity to him as any city could have to a man.

TAKING theſe things into his conſideration, he thought himſelf in want of a guard about his perſon; and well knowing, that men are at no time ſo much expoſed as while they are eating, or drinking, or bathing, or upon their bed, or aſleep, he examined with himſelf what ſort of people he might have about him, that might be beſt truſted upon thoſe occaſions; and he was of opinion, that no man could ever be truſted who ſhould love another more than the perſon who wanted his guard. Thoſe men, therefore, that had ſons or wives that were agreeable to them, or youths that they were fond of, he judged to be under a natural neceſſity of loving them beſt; and obſerving that eunuchs were deprived of all theſe things, he thought that they would have the greateſt affection for thoſe that were able to enrich them the moſt, to redreſs them in caſe of any wrong done them, and to beſtow honours upon them; and in his bounty to theſe people he thought that no one could exceed himſelf. Beſides all this, eunuchs being the object of other mens contempt, are, for this reaſon, in want of a maſter to countenance and ſupport them; for there is no man that does not think it his due to aſſume the upper-hand of an eunuch in every thing, unleſs ſome ſuperior power controul him

him in it; but nothing hinders an eunuch from having the upper-hand of all in his fidelity to his maſter. That eunuchs were deſtitute of all vigour, which is what moſt people think, this did not appear to him to be ſo; and he grounded his argument upon the example of other animals; for vicious horſes, when they are cut, give over biting indeed, and being vicious, but are not at all the leſs fit for ſervice in war: And bulls, that are ſo ſerved, throw off their inſolence and untractableneſs, but they are not deprived of their ſtrength and fitneſs for labour. Dogs, in like manner, that are cut, give over the trick of leaving their maſters, but for watching, and for their uſe in hunting, they are not at all the worſe. And men, in the ſame manner, become the more gentle by being deprived of this deſire; but they are not the leſs careful of things that are given them in charge, nor are they worſe horſemen, nor leſs able at throwing of the javelin, nor leſs deſirous of honour; and they have made it evident, that both in war and in hunting they ſtill preſerve emulation in their minds; and with reſpect to their fidelity, upon occaſion of their maſters being deſtroyed, they have ſtood the greateſt trials; and no men have ever ſhewn greater inſtances of fidelity in the misfortunes of their maſters than eunuchs have done. But if they may be thought to have loſt ſomething of the ſtrength of their bodies, arms, perhaps, make it up, and put the weak and the ſtrong upon the ſame level in war.

JUDGING things to be thus, he began from his door-keepers, and made all thoſe that officiated about his perſon to be eunuchs. But then being of opinion, that this was not a ſufficient guard againſt the great multitude of people that were diſaffected towards him, he conſidered whom he ſhould take from amongſt all the reſt, as the moſt faithful for his guard around the palace. Obſerving, therefore, that the *Perſians*, while at home, were thoſe that fared the hardeſt upon the account of their poverty, and lived in the moſt laborious manner, becauſe their country was rocky and barren, and they themſelves forced to work with their own hands; he thought theſe would be the moſt pleaſed with that ſort of life that they lived with him. Out of theſe, therefore, he took ten thouſand lance-men, who kept guard both night and day round about the palace, whilſt he kept quiet at home. And when he went abroad, they marched with him, ranged in order on every ſide of him. Then thinking it neceſſary that there ſhould be a guard ſufficient for the whole city; whether he were there preſent himſelf, or abſent abroad, he eſtabliſhed a ſufficient garriſon in *Babylon*, and appointed the *Babylonians* to ſupply theſe men likewiſe with their pay, intending to diſtreſs them as much as he could, that they might be reduced to the loweſt condition, and be the moſt eaſily managed. This guard, that was then eſtabliſhed about his own perſon, and in *Babylon*, continues upon the ſame foot at this day.

THEN

THEN taking into his consideration, how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more might be acquired, he was of opinion, that these mercenaries were not so much better than the people subjected, as they were fewer in number. He determined, therefore, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had, with the assistance of the gods, helped him to his conquest; and to take care that they should not grow remiss in the practice of virtue. And that he might not seem to order and direct them, but that, as judging of themselves what was best, they might persevere in virtue and cultivate it; he called together the alike-honoured, and all such as were proper, as well as those whom he thought worthy to share with him, both in his labours and advantages; and when they were met, he spoke to this effect:

"MY friends and allies! we owe the greatest "thanks to the gods, for having granted us the "things of which we thought ourselves worthy. "For we are now possessed of a very large and "noble country, and of people, who, by their la- "bour in the culture of it, will maintain us. We "have houses, and furniture in them. And let "none of you imagine, that by his possession he "holds things that are foreign, and not belonging "to him. For it is a perpetual law amongst all "men, that when a city is taken from an enemy, "both the persons, and treasures of the inhabitants "belong to the captors. Whatever it is, therefore,

" that you poſſeſs, you do not poſſeſs it unjuſtly; but
" whatever you ſuffer them to keep, it is in benignity,
" and love to mankind that you do not take it away.
" As to the time to come, my judgment is this:—
" If we turn ourſelves to a negligent and abandoned
" courſe of life, and to the luxury and pleaſure of vi-
" cious men, who think labour to be the greateſt mi-
" ſery, and a life of eaſe to be a pleaſure, then, I ſay
" we ſhall preſently become of leſs value in ourſelves,
" and ſhall preſently loſe all our advantages. For to
" have been once brave men, is not ſufficient in
" order to continue brave men, unleſs one continue
" careful of one's ſelf to the end. But as all other
" arts, when neglected, ſink in their worth; and as
" in the caſe of our bodies, when in good condition,
" if we abandon them to a courſe of lazineſs and
" inactivity, they become again faulty and deficient;
" ſo a diſcreet temper of mind, temperance, and the
" command of our paſſions, and courage, when a
" man remits the practice of them, from thence-
" forward turn again into vice. We ought not,
" therefore, to be remiſs, nor throw ourſelves im-
" mediately upon every preſent pleaſure. For I think
" it a great thing to acquire a dominion, and yet a
" greater to preſerve it when acquired. For to
" acquire, often befalls a man who contributes no-
" thing towards it but boldneſs in the attempt.
" But to preſerve an acquiſition, that one has made,
" this cannot be done, without diſcretion, nor with-
" out the command of one's paſſions, nor without

" care.

" care. And knowing things to be thus, we ought " to be much more careful in the practice of " virtue now, than before we made theſe valu- " able acquiſitions; well knowing, that when a " man has moſt in his poſſeſſion, he then moſt " abounds in thoſe that envy him, that form de- " ſigns againſt him, and that are his enemies; " eſpecially if he hold the poſſeſſions and ſer- " vice of men as we do againſt their wills. The " gods, we ought to believe, will be with us; for " we are not got into an unjuſt poſſeſſion of theſe " things, by deſigns and contrivances of our " own to get them; but upon deſigns that have been " formed againſt us, we have revenged ourſelves in " the puniſhment of the contrivers.—The next beſt " thing after this, is what we muſt take care to " provide ourſelves with; and that is, to be better " than the people that are ſubjected, and to deſerve " to rule. In heat, therefore, and in cold, in meat " and drink, in labours and in reſt, we muſt of " neceſſity allow our ſervants a ſhare. But while " we ſhare with them in theſe things, we ſhould " endeavour to appear ſuperior to them in all " of them. But in the knowledge and practice of " military affairs, we are not to allow any ſhare at " all, to ſuch as we intend to have as labourers and " tributaries to us; but in all exerciſes of this " kind, we muſt preſerve the aſcendant; determining " within ourſelves, that the gods have ſet theſe " things before men, as the inſtruments and means

" of liberty and happineſs. And as we have taken
" arms away from them, ſo ought we never to be
" without them ourſelves; well knowing, that they
" who have always their arms the neareſt at hand,
" have what they deſire the moſt at their command.
" If any one ſuggeſts to himſelf ſuch things as this;
" as, what advantage is it to us to effect what we
" deſire, if we muſt ſtill bear hunger and thirſt,
" labour and application? This man ought to
" learn, that good things give ſo much the
" more delight, as one takes the more pains
" before-hand to attain them. Labour and pains
" are what give a reliſh to all good things. With-
" out being in want of a thing, there is nothing
" that can be acquired, though never ſo noble, that
" can be pleaſant. If ſome divinity have afforded
" us the things that men the moſt deſire, in or-
" der to have them appear the pleaſanteſt, every
" one will make them ſo to himſelf. And ſuch a
" man will have as much the advantage of thoſe that
" live more neceſſitous, as he will get the pleaſanteſt
" food when he is hungry, enjoy the pleaſanteſt
" drink when he is thirſty, and when he wants reſt,
" can take it in the pleaſanteſt manner. Upon all
" theſe accounts, I ſay, we muſt charge ourſelves
" with the part of brave and excellent men, that we
" may enjoy our advantages in the beſt manner, and
" with the moſt pleaſure, and that we may never
" come to experience the greateſt hardſhip in the
" world. For it is not ſo hard a matter to gain ad-

" vantages,

" vantages, as it is afflicting to be deprived of them,
" after one has obtained them. Conſider then, what
" pretence we can have to chooſe to be worſe than
" before. Is it becauſe we have obtained dominion?
" But it does not become a prince to be more vicious
" than thoſe that are under his command. But
" perhaps it may be, becauſe we ſeem to be more
" proſperous and happy than before. Will
" any man ſay then that vice is to be indulged to
" proſperity? But perhaps, ſince we have acquired
" ſlaves, if they are vicious we will puniſh them;
" and how does it become one that is vicious him-
" ſelf, to puniſh others for vice and ſloth? Conſider
" this farther, that we are preparing to maintain
" abundance of men, as guards to our houſes and
" perſons. And how can it be otherwiſe than baſe
" in us, to think it fit to have others as guards of
" our own ſafety, and not to be guards to ourſelves?
" And you ought to be well aſſured, that there is no
" other guard ſo ſecure, as to be one's ſelf an ex-
" cellent and worthy man. This muſt keep you
" company. For with one that is deſtitute of virtue,
" nothing elſe ought to go well.—What then do I
" ſay you ſhould do? Where practiſe virtue?
" Where apply to the exerciſe of it?—Nothing
" new, my friends, will I tell you. But as the
" alike-honoured among *Perſians*, paſs their time
" about the courts, ſo I ſay it is our part, be-
" ing all alike-honoured here, to practiſe the ſame
" things that are practiſed there. It is your part to

" attend

" attend here, keeping your eyes upon me, to ob-
" ſerve, if I continue careful of the things that
" I ought to be careful of. I will keep my
" eyes intent upon you, and ſuch as I ſee prac-
" tiſing things good and excellent, I will reward.
" The ſons that we have we ſhall here inſtruct; we
" ſhall be ourſelves the better, by being deſirous to
" ſhew ourſelves the beſt examples to them that we
" can. And the boys will not eaſily become vicious,
" not even though they incline to it, when they
" neither ſee nor hear any thing that is mean or baſe,
" and paſs their whole time under excellent inſtitu-
" tions."

CYRO-

CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE INSTITUTION OF *CYRUS*.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK VIII.

THUS then *Cyrus* ſpoke; after him, *Chryſantas* roſe and ſpoke in this manner: "I "have frequently at other times obſerved, "my friends! that a good prince is not at all diffe- "rent from a good father. For fathers are careful to "provide that their children may never come to fail of "what is for their advantage; and *Cyrus* ſeems now to "me, to adviſe us to ſuch things as will make us paſs our "days in the moſt fortunate and happy manner. But "what I think he has been defective in laying open, "this I will endeavour to explain to thoſe that are "not apprized of it. For have you conſidered "what city belonging to an enemy can poſſibly be

"taken

" taken by men that are not obedient to command?
" And what city that belongs to thoſe that are friends
" can be preſerved by men that are not obedient?
" And what army, conſiſting of men diſobedient and
" refractory, can be victorious? How can men ſooner
" be defeated in battle, than when every one begins
" ſeparately to conſult their own particular ſafety?
" Or what other valuable thing can be performed
" by ſuch as do not ſubmit to the direction of their
" betters? What cities are they that are juſtly and
" wiſely regulated? What are thoſe families that
" preſerve themſelves in ſafety? And how come
" ſhips to arrive whither they are bound? By what
" other means have we obtained the advantages we
" have, more than by obedience to our commander?
" By this we have been preſently ready at our proper
" poſts; and by following our commander in compact
" order, we have been irreſiſtible; and of things that
" have been given us in charge, we have left none
" executed by halves: Therefore, if obedience to
" command be of the greateſt advantage, with re-
" ſpect to the making acquiſitions, be you aſſured,
" that it is in the ſame manner of the greateſt ad-
" vantage with reſpect to the preſerving what is fit
" for us to preſerve. Heretofore we were ſubject to
" the commands of many, and commanded none
" ourſelves; but now you are all upon a foot of
" bearing rule, ſome over more, and ſome over leſs.
" Therefore, as you deſire to rule thoſe that are un-
" der you, ſo let us all ſubmit to thoſe that it be-

" comes

" comes us to ſubmit to. We ought to diſtinguiſh
" ourſelves ſo far from ſlaves, as that ſlaves do ſer-
" vice to their maſters againſt their wills; and if we
" deſire to be free, we ought willingly to perform
" what appears to be moſt excellent and worthy.
" You will find, (ſaid he,) that where a people are
" under a government that is not monarchical, and
" are moſt ready to pay obedience to their rulers,
" they are always leaſt liable to the neceſſity of ſub-
" mitting to their enemies. Let us therefore at-
" tend about the palace as *Cyrus* orders; let us prac-
" tiſe thoſe things that will beſt enable us to hold
" what we ought; and let us yield ourſelves to *Cyrus*
" to make uſe of us in what is proper. For you
" ought to be well aſſured, that it is not poſſible for
" *Cyrus* to find any thing that he can make an ad-
" vantage of to himſelf, and that is not ſo to us,
" ſince the ſame things are alike ſerviceable to us
" both, and we have both the ſame enemies."

WHEN *Chryſantas* had ſaid this, many more, both *Perſians* and allies, roſe up, and ſpoke to the ſame effect; and it was determined, that the men of note and quality ſhould always attend at *Cyrus*'s doors, and yield themſelves to his ſervice in whatever he thought fit, till he himſelf diſmiſſed them. And according as it was then determined, ſo thoſe in *Aſia*, that are under the king, do yet at this day; and they attend at the doors of their princes. And as in this diſcourſe it is ſhewn how *Cyrus* eſtabliſhed things in order to ſecure the dominion to himſelf

and

and to the *Perſians*, ſo do the kings his ſucceſſors continue to put the ſame things in practice as laws to this day. But it is in this, as in other things; when there is a better director, the eſtabliſhed rules are executed more ſtrictly, and when there is a worſe, more negligently. The men of note, therefore, frequented the gates of *Cyrus*, with their horſes and lances; this being the joint determination of all the beſt of thoſe that concurred with him in the overthrow of this empire.

CYRUS then conſtituted different officers to take care of different affairs. He had his receivers of the revenues, his pay-maſters, overſeers of his works, keepers of his treaſures, and officers to provide things that were proper for his table: He appointed, as maſters of his horſe and of his dogs, ſuch as he thought would provide him with the beſt of theſe kinds of creatures for his uſe; but as to thoſe whom he thought fit to have as joint guardians of his power and grandeur, he himſelf took care to have them the beſt; he did not give this in charge to others, but thought it his own buſineſs. He knew, that in caſe he was at any time obliged to come to a battle, they that were to ſtand by him on each ſide, and to ſupport him in the rear, were to be taken from amongſt theſe; with theſe he was to engage in the greateſt dangers; out of theſe he knew he was to conſtitute the commanders of his ſeveral bodies of foot and horſe, and if he was in want of generals to ſerve any where in his own abſence, out of theſe he knew they

were

were to be ſent. Some of theſe he knew he was to uſe as guardians and ſatraps of cities and whole nations, and ſome of them were to be ſent out as ambaſſadors; and this he thought a thing of the greateſt conſequence, with reſpect to the obtaining what he deſired without a war. If they, therefore, that were to be intruſted with the management of moſt affairs, and of affairs of the greateſt conſequence, were not ſuch as they ſhould be, he thought matters would go very ill with him; but if they were ſuch as they ſhould be, he reckoned that affairs would go very well.

THIS being his judgment, he therefore took this care upon him, and he reckoned that he himſelf was to engage in the ſame exerciſe of virtue; for he thought it not poſſible for one, who was not himſelf ſuch as he ſhould be, to incite others to great and noble actions. Upon theſe conſiderations he thought leiſure, in the firſt place, neceſſary, if he intended to have it in his power to take care of the principal affairs. He reckoned it therefore impoſſible for him to be negligent of his revenues; foreſeeing, that upon a great dominion he muſt of neceſſity be at a great expence; but then, on the other ſide, his poſſeſſions being very great, to be himſelf always taken up about them, he thought would leave him no leiſure to take care of the ſafety of the whole.

So taking into his conſideration how his œconomy might be ſettled upon a good foot, and he, at the ſame time, might have leiſure, he obſerved the order

of

of an army. For as the commanders of tens take care of their feveral decads, the captains of the commanders of tens, the commanders of thoufands of the captains, the commanders of ten thoufand of the commanders of thoufands; by which means no one is left without care, though an army confifts of many times ten thoufand men; and when a general has any fervice for the army to do, it is enough for him to give his orders to the commanders of ten thoufand. In like manner as thefe affairs were regulated, *Cyrus* accordingly ranged the affairs of his houfhold under certain heads: And thus *Cyrus*, by difcourfing with a few people, was enabled to have the affairs of his œconomy taken care of; and after this, he had yet more leifure than another man, who had but a fingle houfe or fingle fhip in charge. Having thus fettled his own affairs, he taught others to ufe the fame method; and fo procured leifure both for himfelf and for thofe about him.

He then began to take upon him the bufinefs of making his companions in power fuch as they fhould be; and, in the firft place, as many as were able to fubfift by the labour of others, and were not attending at his doors, thefe he enquired into; reckoning, that they who did attend would not be guilty of any bafe and vile action, both by reafon of their being near their prince, and that in whatever they did they would be obferved by the moft excellent men. They that did not attend, he reckoned abfented themfelves either out of their indulgence of fome vicious paffion,

or

or upon the account of ſome unjuſt practice, or out of negligence. Being firſt, therefore, convinced of this in his judgment; he brought all ſuch men under a neceſſity of attending; for he ordered ſome one of thoſe about him, that were his chief friends, to ſeize what belonged to the perſon that did not attend, and to declare that it belonged to himſelf. When this was done, they that were diſpoſſeſſed immediately came and complained, as perſons that had been wronged. *Cyrus*, of a great while, was not at leiſure to give ſuch men a hearing; and when he had heard them, he deferred the deciſion of the matter a long while. By acting thus, he thought he accuſtomed them to make their court, and with leſs ill-will to him, than if he himſelf had forced them to attend, by inflicting puniſhments upon them. This was one method of inſtruction that he uſed, in order to make men attend upon him. Another was, to command thoſe that attended upon ſuch ſervices as were moſt eaſy to execute, and moſt profitable. Another was, never to allow the abſent a ſhare in any advantage. But the chief method of all that he uſed to neceſſitate men to attend, was this, that in caſe a man did not yield obedience to theſe other methods, he then took what he had from him, and gave it to another man, that he thought would be able to attend upon the proper occaſions; and thus he gained a uſeful friend inſtead of a uſeleſs one. And the preſent king ſtill makes enquiry whether any one of thoſe be abſent whoſe part it is to attend.

In this manner did he carry himself to those that did not attend upon him; but those that afforded him their attendance and service, he thought he should best excite to great and noble actions, if he, being their prince, should endeavour to shew himself, to those whom he governed, the most accomplished of all in virtue. For he thought he observed, that men were the better for written laws, but a good prince, he reckoned, was to men a seeing-law; because he was able both to give directions, to see the man that acted irregularly, and to punish him.

This being his judgment, he shewed himself, in the first place, the more industrious to discharge himself in all dues to the gods, at that time when he was in the most fortunate circumstances. And then were first appointed certain mages to sing a hymn to the gods always as soon as it was day, and every day to sacrifice to such deities as the mages should direct; and the establishments that were thus made at that time continue in use with the king that still succeeds in the government on to this day. The rest of the *Persians*, therefore, were the first that followed his example in these things, reckoning, that they should be the more fortunate if they served the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince; and they thought, by doing thus, they should please *Cyrus*. But *Cyrus* accounted the piety of those about him an advantage to himself, reckoning as they do who chuse to undertake a voyage in company

pany with men of piety, rather than with ſuch as appear to have been guilty of any thing impious. And beſides this, he reckoned, that if all his aſſociates were religious, they would be the leſs apt to be guilty of any thing impious towards each other, or towards him who thought himſelf their benefactor: Then, by ſhewing himſelf to be under great concern and fear of doing injury to any friend or ally, and keeping ſteadily to the rule of juſtice, he thought that others would abſtain the more from baſe gains, and would take care that their revenue ſhould ariſe to them by juſt methods. And he was of opinion, that he ſhould the better inſpire other men with reſpect and awe, if he himſelf appeared to pay ſo great a reſpect to all, as never to ſay nor do any thing ſhameful and vile. And that it would fall out thus, he grounded his argument upon this; that not only in the caſe of a prince, but even of ſuch as men had no fear of, they paid more reſpect to thoſe that behaved reſpectfully, than they did to the impudent; and ſuch women as they obſerved to be modeſt and reſpectful, they were the more ready to pay reſpect to. And he thought that a temper of obedience would be the more firmly eſtabliſhed in thoſe about him, if he appeared to beſtow greater rewards upon the obedient, than upon thoſe that ſeemed poſſeſſed of the greateſt and moſt elaborate virtues. In this opinion, and in this practice, he always continued. And then, by ſhewing his own goodneſs and modeſty of temper, he made all others the more ready to

practiſe it; for when men ſee one that has it moſt in his power to behave with haughtineſs and inſolence, behave with this modeſty and goodneſs of temper, then, even thoſe of the loweſt degree, are the more willing to be ſeen acting without any manner of inſolence. He diſtinguiſhed that reſpect and awe from this goodneſs of temper in this manner: That they who were poſſeſſed with this awe, avoided things that were ſhameful and vile, while they were expoſed to the eyes of others; but that the modeſt and good-tempered did it even in the dark. He thought likewiſe to make men practiſe a command of their paſſions beſt, by ſhewing that he himſelf was not drawn away, by preſent pleaſures, from the purſuit of good and excellent things; and that he preferred toil and labour, in the purſuit of a noble end, before all delights. Being therefore ſuch a man himſelf, he eſtabliſhed an excellent order at his doors; the meaner ſort ſubmitting to the better, and all behaving with great awe and decency one towards another. You ſhould not ſee any one there in anger, breaking out into noiſe and clamour, nor expreſſing an inſulting pleaſure in inſolent laughter; but to ſee them, you would think that they really lived in the moſt comely and noble manner. In the practice of ſuch things as theſe, and with ſuch things always before their eyes, they paſſed their days at the doors of *Cyrus*.

But then, in order to inure them to the practice of military affairs, he led out all thoſe to hunt that he thought proper to exerciſe in that manner; reck-

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oning this the beſt method of practiſing all ſuch things as relate to war, as well as the trueſt exerciſe of the art of riding; for this helps them, the moſt of any thing, to ſit firm on horſeback, in all ſorts of ground, by means of their purſuing the wild beaſts in their flight; and this, the moſt of any thing, makes them capable of acting on horſeback, by means of their love of praiſe, and deſire of taking their game; and by this he chiefly accuſtomed his aſſociates to gain a command over their paſſions, and to be able to bear toil, to bear cold and heat, hunger and thirſt. And the king that now reigns, together with thoſe that are about him, continue ſtill the ſame practice.

IT is evident, therefore, by what has been before ſaid, that he thought dominion became no one that was not himſelf better than thoſe whom he governed: And that by thus exerciſing theſe about him, he inured himſelf the moſt of all to a command of his paſſions, and to all military arts and exerciſes; for he led out others abroad to hunt, when there was no neceſſity that obliged him to ſtay at home; and when there was any ſuch neceſſity, he then hunted the beaſts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his ſupper before he gave himſelf a ſweat, nor did he ever throw food to his horſes before they were exerciſed. And he invited his eunuchs abroad with him to this hunting. He himſelf, therefore, greatly excelled in all noble performances, and they that were about him likewiſe did ſo, by means of their continual exerciſe. In this manner he made himſelf

an example to others. And beſides this, whoſoever he ſaw the moſt zealous in the purſuit of generous actions, ſuch he rewarded with preſents, with commands, with placing them in the principal ſeats, and with all other honours; ſo that he raiſed a mighty emulation amongſt all, to try by what means every one might appear to *Cyrus* the moſt deſerving.

And, I think, I have likewiſe heard concerning *Cyrus*, that he was opinion, that princes ought to excel thoſe that are under their dominion, not only in being better than they, but that they ought likewiſe to play the impoſtors with them. He choſe, therefore, to wear the *Median* robe, and perſuaded his aſſociates to put it on; for in caſe a man had any thing defective in his perſon, he thought that this concealed it, and made thoſe that wore it appear the handſomeſt and the talleſt. And they have a ſort of ſhoe, where they may fit in ſomething under their feet, without its being ſeen, ſo as to make themſelves appear taller than they really are. He allowed them alſo to colour their eyes, that they might ſeem to have finer eyes than they really had; and to paint themſelves, that they might appear to be of better complexions than they naturally were of. He took care likewiſe to uſe them not to be ſeen to ſpit, or blow the noſe, or turn aſide to gaze at any ſpectacle, as if they were men that admired nothing. And all theſe things he thought contributed ſomething to their appearing the more awful to the people that were ſubject to his dominion.

THOSE that he thought the proper perſons to ſhare by his own means in the dominion with him, he diſciplined in this manner; and by acting himſelf, at the head of them, in the ſame venerable and majeſtick way. But thoſe that he managed for ſervitude, he never encouraged to the practice of ingenious labours, nor allowed them the poſſeſſion of arms, but took care that they ſhould never go without their meat and drink for the ſake of theſe liberal exerciſes; for when with their horſe they drove out the wild beaſts into the plains, he allowed meat and drink to be carried for the uſe of theſe people during the hunt, but not for any of the ingenious. And when he was upon a march, he led them to water as he did the beaſts of burthen, and when the time for dinner came, he waited till they had eat ſomething that they might not be diſtreſſed with hunger. So that theſe people, as the better ſort likewiſe did, called him their father, for taking care that beyond all doubt they ſhould always continue ſlaves.

THUS he provided for the ſecurity of the whole *Perſian* dominion. But he was very confident, that he himſelf was in no danger of meeting with any miſchief from the people that were conquered, for he reckoned them weak and diſpirited, and he obſerved them deſtitute of all order, and beſides, none of them ever came near him by night or day. But ſuch as he reckoned the better ſort, that he ſaw armed, and in compact order; ſome of them, commanders of horſe, and ſome of foot, and many of

them that he perceived with ſpirits equal to rule, that were next to his own guards, and many of whom were frequently in company with himſelf, (for there was a neceſſity that it ſhould be ſo, becauſe he was to make uſe of them,) from theſe there was the moſt danger of his receiving miſchief many ways. Therefore, taking into his conſideration how matters might be made ſafe for him in this reſpect; to take away their arms from them, and to render them unfit for war, he did not approve; both accounting it unjuſt, and believing it to be a diſſolution of his empire. And then again not to admit them to his preſence, and openly to diſtruſt them, he reckoned the beginning and foundation of a war. Inſtead of all theſe things, there was one that he determined to be the beſt for his ſecurity, and the handſomeſt of all; which was, to try if poſſibly he could make the better ſort of men more friends to himſelf than to one another.

By what means therefore it was that, in my opinion, he came to be beloved, I will endeavour to relate. For firſt he conſtantly at all times diſplayed, as much as he could, his own good-nature and love to mankind; reckoning, that it is no eaſy matter for men to love thoſe who ſeem to hate them, or to bear good-will to thoſe that have ill intentions towards them; ſo it was not poſſible for thoſe that were known to love and bear good-will, to be hated by ſuch as thought themſelves beloved. Therefore, whilſt he had it not ſo much in his power to beſtow

rich benefits upon them, he endeavoured to captivate their affections, by preventing his companions in care and in pains, by appearing pleaſed with their advantages, and afflicted at their misfortunes: but when he had wherewithal to be bountiful to them, he ſeems to me to have known in the firſt place, that there is no benefaction amongſt men, that is of equal expence, and is ſo grateful, as the ſharing meat and drink with them.

AND being of this opinion, he firſt regulated his table ſo, as to have placed before him as many of the ſame things that he eat of himſelf, as were ſufficient for great numbers of people. And all that was ſet before him, except what was uſed by himſelf and his gueſts, he diſtributed to ſuch of his friends as he intended to ſhew that he remembered, or had a kindneſs for. He ſent likewiſe about to ſuch as he happened to be pleaſed with; whether they were employed upon the guard any where, or attended to pay their court to him, or were concerned in any other affairs. And this he did in order to ſignify, that they who were deſirous to do what was pleaſing to him, were not to be concealed from him. He paid the ſame honour from his table to his own domeſticks, when he had a mind to give any of them his commendation. And all the meat that belonged to his domeſticks, he placed upon his own table; thinking, that as in the caſe of children, ſo this would gain him ſome good-will from them. And if he had a mind that any of his friends ſhould have

have great numbers of people attend and pay their court to them, he ſent them preſents from his table. For even yet at this day, all people make the greater court to ſuch as they obſerve to have things ſent them from off the king's table; becauſe they reckon them men in great honour and eſteem, and that in caſe they want any thing to be done, they are able to effect it for them. And beſides, it is not only upon theſe accounts, that have been mentioned, that the things ſent from the king are pleaſing, but things that come from the king's table do really very much excel in point of pleaſure. And that it ſhould be ſo, is not at all to be wondered at.—For as other arts are wrought up in great cities to a greater degree of perfection, in the ſame manner are the meats that come from the king dreſſed in greater perfection. For in little cities the ſame people make both the frame of a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the ſame perſon is a builder too, and very well ſatisfied he is, if he meet with cuſtomers enough to maintain him. It is impoſſible, therefore, for a man that makes a great many different things, to do them all well. But in great cities, becauſe there are multitudes that want every particular thing, one art alone is ſufficient for the maintenance of every one. And frequently not an entire one neither, but one man makes ſhoes for men, another for women. Sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance by ſewing ſhoes together, another by cutting them out; one by cutting cloths only,

only, and another, without doing any of theſe things, is maintained by fitting together the pieces ſo cut out. He, therefore, that deals in a buſineſs that lies within a little compaſs, muſt of neceſſity do it the beſt. The caſe is the ſame with reſpect to the buſineſs of a table, for he that has the ſame man to cover and adorn the frame of a couch, to ſet out the table, to knead the dough, to dreſs the ſeveral different meats, muſt neceſſarily, in my opinion, fare in each particular as it happens. But where it is buſineſs enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roaſt it, for one to boil fiſh, and for another to broil it; where it is buſineſs enough for one man to make bread, and that not of every ſort neither, but that it is enough for him to furniſh one ſort good, each man, in my opinion, muſt, of neceſſity, work up the things that are thus made to a very great perfection.—He, therefore, by this kind of management, greatly exceeded all other people in this ſort of courtſhip, by preſents of meat.

AND how he came likewiſe to be greatly ſuperior in all other ways of gaining upon men, I will now relate. For he that ſo much exceeded other men in the multitude of his revenues, exceeded them yet more in the multitude of his preſents. *Cyrus*, therefore, began it; and this cuſtom of making abundance of preſents, continues to this day practiſed by the kings his ſucceſſors. Who is there that is known to have richer friends than the *Perſian* king has? Who is known to ſet out the people about him in finer habits

habits than this king does? Whose presents are known to be such as some of those which this king makes? as bracelets and collars, and horses with bridles of gold. For it is not allowed there that any one should have these things but he that the king gives them to. What other man is there that can be said to make himself be preferred before brothers, fathers, or children, by his great presents? What other man has power to chastise his enemies that are many months journey distance from him, as the *Persian* king has? What other man, but *Cyrus*, after having overturned an empire, ever died, and had the the title of FATHER given him by the people he subjected? For it is plain that this is the name of one that bestows, rather than of one that takes away.

We have been likewise informed, that he gained those men, that are called the eyes and the ears of the king, by no other means than by making them presents, and by bestowing honours and rewards upon them. For by being very bountiful to those that gave him an account of what was proper for him to be informed of, he set abundance of people upon the search, both with ears and eyes, to find what information they should give the king that might be useful to him. Upon this the eyes of the king were reckoned to be very numerous, and his ears so too. But if any one think proper for a king to choose but one person as his eye, he judges not right. For one man would see but few things, and one man would hear but few things; and if this were given

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in charge to one only, it would be as if the reſt were ordered to neglect it. Beſides, whoever was known to be this eye, people would know that they were to be upon their guard againſt him. This then is not the courſe that is taken. But the king hears every one that ſays he has heard or ſeen any thing worthy his attending to. By this means, the ears and eyes of the king are reckoned to be in great number. And people are every where afraid of ſaying any thing to the king's prejudice, as if he himſelf heard them; and of doing any thing to his prejudice, as if he himſelf were preſent. So that no one durſt mention any thing ſcandalous concerning *Cyrus* to any body; but every one ſtood ſo diſpoſed, as if they were always amidſt the eyes and ears of the king, whatever company they wre in.

I know not what cauſe any one can better aſſign for ſuch a diſpoſition in men towards him, than that he thought fit to beſtow great benefits in return of little ones. And it is not to be wondered at, that he, who was the richeſt of all, exceeded others in the greatneſs of his preſents; but that one poſſeſſed of the royal dignity, ſhould exceed others in the culture and care of his friends, this is a thing more worthy of notice! He is ſaid never to have appeared ſo much aſhamed of being outdone in any thing, as in the culture of his friends. And a ſaying of his is recorded; expreſſing, "That the buſineſs of a good "herds-man, and of a good king, were very near "alike; for a herds-man, (he ſaid,) ought to pro-"vide for the welfare and happineſs of the "herd,

" herd, and make uſe of them conſiſtently with the " happineſs of thoſe creatures; and that a king " ought, in the ſame manner, to make men and cities " happy, and in the ſame manner to make uſe of " them." It is no wonder, therefore, if this were his ſentiment, that he had an ambition to out-do all in the culture of men.

And *Cyrus* is ſaid to have given this noble inſtance to *Cræſus*; on a certain time, when *Cræſus* ſuggeſted to him, that, by the multitude of preſents that he made, he would be a beggar, when it was in his power to lay up at home mighty treaſures of gold, for the uſe of one; it is ſaid that *Cyrus* then aſked him thus: " What ſums do you think I ſhould " now have in poſſeſſion, if I had been hoarding up " gold as you bid me, ever ſince I have been in " power?" And that *Cræſus*, in reply, named ſome mighty ſum; and that *Cyrus* to this ſaid: " Well, " *Cræſus!* do you ſend with *Hyſtaſpes* here, ſome " perſon that you have moſt confidence in; and do " you, *Hyſtaſpes!* (ſaid he,) go about to my friends, " tell them that I am in want of money for a certain " affair, (and in reality I am in want of it,) and bid " them furniſh me with as much as they are each of " them able to do; and that writing it down and " ſigning it, they deliver the letter to *Cræſus*'s officer " to bring me." Then writing down what he had ſaid, and ſigning it, he gave it to *Hyſtaſpes* to carry it to his friends, but added in the letter to them all, " that they ſhould receive *Hyſtaſpes* as his friend."

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After they had gone round, and that *Craſus*'s officer brought the letters, *Hyſtaſpes* ſaid, "O *Cyrus*! "my king! you muſt now make uſe of me as a rich "man, for here do I attend you, abounding in "preſents that have been made me upon the account "of your letter." *Cyrus*, upon this, ſaid, "This, "then, is one treaſure to me, *Cræſus*! but look over "the others, and reckon up what riches there are "ready for me, in caſe I want for my own "uſe." *Cræſus*, upon calculation, is ſaid to have found many times the ſum, that he told *Cyrus* he might now have had in his treaſury, if he hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, *Cyrus* is reported to have ſaid:

"You ſee, *Cræſus*, that I have my treaſures too; "but you bid me hoard them up, to be envied and "hated for them: you bid me place hired guards "upon them, and in thoſe to put my truſt. But I "make my friends rich, and reckon them to be "treaſures to me, and guards both to myſelf, and to "all things of value that belong to us, and ſuch as "are more to be truſted than if I ſet up a guard of "hirelings. Beſides, there is another thing that I "will tell you: what the gods have wrought into the "ſouls of men, and by it have made them all equally "indigent, this, *Cræſus*! I am not able to get the "better of. For I am, as others are, inſatiably greedy "of riches. But I reckon I differ from moſt others "in this: that when they have acquired more "than is ſufficient for them, ſome of thoſe treaſures

"they

"they bury under ground, and ſome they let decay
"and ſpoil, and others they give themſelves a great
"deal of trouble about, in telling, in meaſuring,
"in weighing, airing and watching them; and
"though they have all theſe things at home, they
"neither eat more than they are able to bear, for
"they would burſt; nor do they put on more cloaths
"than they can bear, for they would ſuffocate; but
"all their ſuperfluous treaſures they have only for
"buſineſs and trouble. Whereas I ſerve the gods,
"and am ever deſirous of more; and when I have
"acquired it out of what I find to be more than
"ſuffices me, I ſatisfy the wants of my friends;
"and by enriching men with it, and by doing them
"kindneſſes, I gain their good-will and their
"friendſhip, and obtain ſecurity and glory, things
"that do not corrupt and ſpoil, and do not diſtreſs
"one by over-abounding. But glory, the more
"there is of it, the greater and more noble it is, and
"the lighter to bear; and thoſe that bear it, it often
"makes the lighter and eaſier. And that you may
"be ſenſible of this, *Cræſus!* (ſaid he,) they that
"poſſeſs the moſt, and have moſt in their cuſtody, I
"do not reckon the happieſt men; for then would
"guards upon the walls be the happieſt of all men,
"for they have the cuſtody of all that there is in
"whole cities; but the perſon that can acquire the
"moſt with juſtice, and uſe the moſt with honour,
"him do I reckon the happieſt man; and this I
"reckon to be riches."

And

AND as he expreſſed theſe things, ſo he apparently practiſed them. But beſides all this, having obſerved that moſt men, if they enjoy health, take care to provide themſelves with all things fitting, and lay up all things that are of uſe with reſpect to a healthy courſe of life; but how to be ſupplied with things that are of ſervice in caſe they are ſick, of this he obſerved they were not very careful. He therefore thought proper to be at pains to provide himſelf with theſe things. He got together the beſt phyſicians about him, by his being willing to be at the expence of it; and whatever inſtruments, medicines, meats, or drinks, any one told him to be of uſe, there was nothing of all theſe that he did not provide himſelf with, and treaſure up. And when any of thoſe, whom it was proper for him to take care of, fell ill, he went himſelf to ſee them, and furniſhed them with whatever they wanted; and was thankful to the phyſicians whenever they cured any one, and took the things which they uſed from out of what he had in ſtore. Theſe, and many ſuch things, did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affections of thoſe by whom he deſired to be beloved.

THEN all thoſe affairs, wherein he appointed games, eſtabliſhed prizes, with intention to raiſe an emulation in men to perform great and noble things; thoſe gained *Cyrus* the applauſe of taking care that virtue ſhould be kept in practice; but theſe very games created ſtrife and emulation amongſt

the better ſort of men. And beſides, *Cyrus* eſtabliſhed as a law, that whatever required a determination, whether it were a matter of right, or a diſpute relating to the games, the parties requiring ſuch determination, ſhould have joint recourſe to certain judges. It is plain, therefore, that both the parties at variance aimed at pitching upon ſuch judges as were the beſt, and the moſt their friends: and he that loſt his cauſe, envied him that carried it, and hated thoſe that did not give the cauſe for himſelf: he that carried his cauſe, attributed the ſucceſs to the juſtice of it, ſo reckoned he owed nobody thanks. They that aimed at being chief in the friendſhip and eſteem of *Cyrus*, like others in certain cities, bore envy to each other; ſo that moſt of them rather wiſhed each other out of the way, than ever acted in concert together, for their mutual advantage. Theſe things make it evident by what means he made all the conſiderable men more affectionate to himſelf, than they were to one another.

But now we will relate how *Cyrus*, for the firſt time, marched in proceſſion out of the palace. For the majeſty of this proceſſion ſeems to me to have been one of thoſe arts, that made his government not liable to contempt. Firſt, therefore, before he made this proceſſion, he called in to him all thoſe, both *Perſians* and others, that were poſſeſſed of commands, and diſtributed to them *Median* robes. (And it was then that the *Perſians* firſt put on the *Median* robe.) Having diſtributed theſe, he told them,

them, that he intended to march in proceſſion to thoſe portions of ground that had been choſen and ſet apart for the gods, and to make a ſacrifice accompanied with them. "Attend, therefore, (ſaid he,) "at the gates, before the riſing of the "ſun, adorned with theſe robes, and form your-"ſelves as *Pheraulas*, the *Perſian*, ſhall give you "orders from me. And when I lead the way, do "you follow on in the ſtation aſſigned you. But "if any of you think that our proceſſion will be "handſomer in any other manner, than as we "march at this time, when we return again let "him inform me; for every thing ought to be ſo "diſpoſed, as ſhall appear to you to be moſt beau-"tiful and noble." When he had diſtributed the fineſt robes to the greateſt men, he then produced other robes of the *Median* ſort. For he had provided them in great numbers, and was not ſparing either in the purple habits, or thoſe of a dark colour, or in the ſcarlet, or the murry. And having diſtributed a certain portion of theſe to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn and ſet out their friends with them, "as I, (ſaid he,) adorn you." And one of thoſe that were preſent then, aſked him, "but when "will you, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) be adorned yourſelf?" To this he replied. "And do you not think, (ſaid he,) "that I am already adorned, in adorning "all you? No matter, (ſaid he,) if I am but able to "ſerve my friends, whatever robe I wear I ſhall ap-

"pear fine in it." So theſe men going their ways, and ſending for their friends, adorned them with theſe robes.

CYRUS taking *Pheraulas*, one of the inferior degree of people, to be a man of good underſtanding, a lover of what was beautiful and orderly, and careful to pleaſe him, the ſame that heretofore ſpoke for every one's being rewarded according to his deſert; and calling this man to him, he adviſed with him how he might make this proceſſion in a manner that might appear the moſt beautiful to his friends, and moſt terrible to thoſe that were diſaffected. And when, upon joint conſideration, they both agreed in the ſame things, he ordered *Pheraulas* to take care that the proceſſion ſhould be made the next morning in the manner that they had thought proper. "I have ordered (ſaid he) all to obey you in the diſ-"poſition and order of this proceſſion. And that "they may attend to your orders with the more ſatis-"faction, take theſe coats, (ſaid he,) and carry them "to the commanders of the guards; give theſe ha-"bits for horſemen to the commanders of the horſe, "and theſe other coats to the commanders of the "chariots." Upon this he took them, and carried them off. When the commanding-officers ſaw him, they ſaid to him, "You are a great man, *Pheraulas!* "now that you are to order us what we are to do!" "No, not only ſo, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Pheraulas*,) but it "ſeems I am to be a baggage-bearer too; therefore "I now bring you theſe two habits, one of them is

"for

" for yourſelf, the other for ſomebody elſe, but do " you take which of them you pleaſe." He that received the habit, upon this forgot his envy, and preſently adviſed with him which he ſhould take; then giving his opinion which was the beſt, he ſaid, " If " ever you charge me with having given you the " choice when I officiate, another time you ſhall " have me officiate for you in a different manner." *Pheraulas* having made this diſtribution thus as he was ordered, immediately applied himſelf to the affairs of the proceſſion, that every thing might be ſettled in the handſomeſt manner. When the next day came, all things were in order before day.

THERE were ranks of people ſtanding on each ſide of the way, as they yet ſtand at this day, wherever the king is to march; and within theſe ranks none but men of great dignity are allowed to come. There were men poſted, with ſcourges in their hands, who ſcourged any that made diſturbance. There ſtood firſt before the gates four thouſand of the guards drawn up, four in front, two thouſand on each ſide of the gates. All the horſemen that were there attending alighted from their horſes, and with their hands paſſed through their robes, as they ſtill paſs them at this day when the king takes a view of them. The *Perſians* ſtood on the right hand, and the other allies on the left hand of the way. The chariots, in the ſame manner, ſtood half of them on each ſide. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, firſt there were led certain bulls, very beautiful

beaſts, four a-breaſt, devoted to *Jove*, and to ſuch other of the gods as the mages directed; for the *Perſians* are of opinion, that artiſts ought to be made uſe of in divine affairs, much more than in others. Next to the bulls there were horſes led for a ſacrifice to the Sun. After theſe proceeded a white chariot, with its perch of gold, adorned with a crown or wreath around it, and ſacred to *Jove*. After this a white chariot ſacred to the Sun, and adorned with a crown, as that before. After this proceeded a third chariot, with its horſes adorned with ſcarlet coverings; and behind it followed men that bore fire upon a large altar. After theſe, *Cyrus* himſelf appeared without the gates, with a turban on, that was raiſed high above his head, with a veſt of a purple colour, half mixed with white; (and this mixture of white none elſe is allowed to wear;) about his legs he had a ſort of ſtockings of a yellow colour, a robe wholly purple, and about his turban a diadem or wreath. (His relations had likewiſe this mark of diſtinction, and they have it ſtill to this day.) And his hands he kept out of their coverings. By him rode his driver, a tall man, but leſs than himſelf; whether it really was ſo, or whether by ſome means or other it ſo fell out, *Cyrus* appeared much the taller. All the people, at the ſight of him, paid their adoration; either becauſe ſome people were before appointed to begin it, or becauſe they were ſtruck with the pomp and ſolemnity, and thought that *Cyrus* appeared exceedingly tall and beautiful; but no *Perſian* ever paid

Cyrus adoration before. When the chariot of *Cyrus* advanced, four thouſand of the guards led the way before, two thouſand of them attended on each ſide of it; and the ſtaff-officers about his perſon being on horſeback, finely cloathed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred, followed after. Then were led the horſes that were maintained for *Cyrus* himſelf, with their bridles of gold, and thrown over with coverings wrought with a raiſed work in ſtripes, and theſe were about two hundred. After theſe marched two thouſand ſpearmen. After theſe the firſt-formed body of horſe, ten thouſand in number, ranged a hundred every way, led by *Chryſantas*. After theſe, another body of ten thouſand *Perſian* horſe, ranged in the ſame manner, led by *Hyſtaſpes*. After theſe, another body of ten thouſand, in the ſame manner, led by *Datarnas*. After theſe, another, led by *Gadatas*. After theſe marched the *Median* horſe, after theſe the *Armenian* horſe, then the *Hyrcanian*, then the *Caduſian*, then the *Sacian*; and after the horſe went the chariots, ranged four a-breaſt, and led by the *Perſian*, *Artabates*.

As he marched along, abundance of people, without the ranks, followed by the ſide, petitioning *Cyrus*, one about one affair, and another about another. Sending, therefore, to them ſome of the ſtaff-officers who attended his chariot three on each ſide, for this very purpoſe of delivering meſſages, he bid them tell them, that if any of them wanted him upon any buſineſs, they ſhould acquaint ſome of the chief officers

under him with what they wanted, and they, he ſaid, would tell him. Theſe people going their ways, immediately went to the horſemen, and conſulted who they ſhould each of them apply to; but thoſe of his friends that *Cyrus* had a mind to have the greateſt court and application made to, theſe he ſent ſomebody to, and called them ſeverally to him, and ſpoke to them in this manner: "If any of theſe men that "follow by my ſide acquaint you with any thing, "do not give attention to any one that you think "ſays nothing to the purpoſe; but whoever deſires "what is juſt, give me an account of it, that we "may conſult together, and effect their buſineſs for "them." Others, when they were called upon, riding up with the utmoſt diſpatch, obeyed, contributing to the ſupport of *Cyrus*'s empire, and ſhewing their own readineſs to obey: But there was one *Daipharnes*, a man of abſurd and uncouth manners, who thought, that by not paying obedience with ſuch diſpatch, he ſhould appear a man of more dignity and freedom; as ſoon, therefore, as *Cyrus* perceived this, before the man came up ſo near as that he might ſpeak to him, he ſent one of his ſtaff-officers, and bid him tell him, that he had now no longer any need of him; and he never ſent for him afterwards. But there was one who was ſent-to later, who rode up to him ſooner than he, and to this man *Cyrus* gave one of the horſes that followed in his train, and ordered one of the ſtaff-officers to conduct the horſe for him wherever he ſhould order. This appeared, to thoſe that ſaw

it,

it, to be a very great honour; and after this, many more people made their court to this man.

WHEN they came to the ſacred encloſures, they ſacrificed to Jove, and burnt the bulls entirely; then they ſacrificed to the Sun, and burnt the horſes entirely; then, killing certain victims to the Earth, they did as the mages directed; then they ſacrificed to the Heroes, Guardians of *Syria*.

AFTER this, the country there-abouts being very fine, he appointed a certain limited piece of ground, of about five ſtades, and bid them, nation by nation, put their horſes to their ſpeed. He himſelf rode the race with the *Perſians*, and gained the victory, for he was extremely well practiſed in horſemanſhip. Amongſt the *Medes*, *Artabates* got the victory, for *Cyrus* had given him a horſe. Amongſt the *Syrians*, their chief got the victory. Amongſt the *Armenians*, *Tigranes*. Amongſt the *Hyrcanians*, the ſon of the commander of their horſe. And amongſt the *Sacians*, a private man, with his horſe, left the others behind by almoſt half the courſe.

AND upon this occaſion, *Cyrus* is ſaid to have aſked the young man, if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horſe? And the young man is ſaid to have replied thus: "A kingdom I would not accept for him, but I would conſent to oblige a "worthy man with him." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "Come, "I will ſhew you where you may throw blindfold, "and not miſs a worthy man." "By all means, "then, (ſaid the *Sacian*, taking up a clod;) ſhew me

"where

" where I may throw with this clod." Then *Cyrus* ſhewed him a place where a great many of his friends were; and the man, ſhutting his eyes, threw his clod, and hit *Pheraulas* as he was riding by; for *Pheraulas* happened to be carrying ſome orders from *Cyrus*, and when he was ſtruck he did not turn aſide, but went on upon the buſineſs that was ordered him. The *Sacian* then looking up, aſked whom he had hit? " None, by *Jove!* (ſaid he,) of thoſe that are " preſent." " But ſure (ſaid the young man) it was " none of thoſe that are abſent." " Yes, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " you hit that man that rides haſtily " on there by the chariots." " And how came he " not to turn back?" ſaid he. Then *Cyrus* ſaid, " Why, in probability, it is ſome madman." The young man, hearing this, went to ſee who it was, and found *Pheraulas* with his chin all over dirt and blood, for the blood guſhed from his noſe upon the ſtroke that he received. When he came up with him, he aſked him, " Whether he had received a " blow?" He anſwered, " Yes, as you ſee:" " Then (ſaid he) " I make you a preſent of this horſe." He then aſked, " For what?" And upon this the *Sacian* gave him a relation of the thing, and in concluſion ſaid, " And I believe I have not miſſed of a worthy " man." *Pheraulas* then ſaid, " But if you had been " wiſe, you had given it to a richer man than I; but " I now accept it, and beſeech the gods, who have " made me the receiver of this blow from you, to " grant that I may behave ſo as to make you not

" repent

"repent your preſent to me. Now, (ſaid he,) do "you mount my horſe, and ride off upon him, and "I will be with you preſently." Thus they parted.

AMONGST the *Caduſians*, *Rathonicis* gained the victory. He likewiſe put their chariots ſeverally to the trial of their ſpeed; and to the victors he gave oxen, that they might ſacrifice and feaſt, and he gave them cups. He himſelf took the ox that was his prize; but his ſhare of the cups he gave to *Pheraulas*, becauſe he thought that he had directed the proceſſion from the palace in a very handſome manner.

THIS method of proceſſion, then ſettled by *Cyrus*, continues ſtill in uſe with the king at this day, excepting only that the victims make no part of it, when he does not ſacrifice. When all was at an end, they returned again to the city, and they that had houſes given them, quartered in their houſes, and they that had not, in their ranks.

BUT *Pheraulas* inviting the *Sacian* that preſented him with the horſe, gave him an entertainment; he furniſhed him with all other things in abundance; and, after they had ſupped, he filled him the cups that he had received from *Cyrus*, drank to him, and made him a preſent of them. But the *Sacian* obſerving a great many fine carpets and coverlets, a great deal of fine furniture, and abundance of domeſticks: "Tell me, (ſaid he,) *Pheraulas!* were "you one of the rich when you were at home?"— "How rich do you mean? (ſaid *Pheraulas*;) I was

"one

" one of thoſe that lived directly by the work of their
" own hands; for my father maintaining himſelf
" very poorly by his own labour, bred me up under
" the diſcipline of the boys; but when I became a
" youth, not being able to maintain me idle, he took
" me into the country, and ordered me to work.
" Here did I maintain him whilſt he lived, digging,
" and planting with my own hands, a little piece
" of land, that was not an ungrateful one, but the
" juſteſt in the world. For the ſeed that it received
" it returned me juſtly and handſomely again, with
" an overplus that indeed was not very abundant,
" but ſometimes out of its generoſity returned me
" double of what it received. Thus then I lived
" at home, but now, all theſe things that you ſee,
" *Cyrus* has given me." Then the *Sacian* ſaid,
" O happy are you in other reſpects, as well as in
" this; that from being poor before, you are now
" become rich! For I am of opinion, that you
" grow rich with the more pleaſure, as you come
" to be poſſeſſed of riches, after having thirſted for
" them before." *Pheraulas* then ſaid, " And do you
" think, *Sacian*, that I live with the more pleaſure,
" the more I poſſeſs? Do not you know, (ſaid he,)
" that I neither eat, nor drink, nor ſleep with one
" jot more pleaſure now, than when I was poor?
" But by all this abundance, thus much I gain,
" that I am to guard more, to diſtribute more to
" to others, and to have the trouble of taking care
" of more. For a great many domeſticks now de-

" mand

" mand their food of me, their drink, and their " cloaths; ſome are in want of phyſicians; one " comes and brings me ſheep that have been torn " to pieces by wolves, or oxen killed by falling " from a precipice, or tells me of a diſtemper got " amongſt the cattle: So that I think, (ſaid *Pheraulas*,) " by poſſeſſing abundance, I have now more " afflictions than I had before, by having but little." " But, by *Jove!* (ſaid the *Sacian*,) when all is well, " and you are able to caſt your eyes around upon " numerous poſſeſſions, you are certainly much " better pleaſed than I am." *Pheraulas* then ſaid, " *Sacian*, it is not ſo pleaſant to poſſeſs riches, as it " is afflicting to loſe them; and you will find that " what I ſay is true. For there are none of thoſe " that poſſeſs riches that are forced from the en- " joyment of reſt, by the pleaſure which they af- " ford; but of thoſe that loſe them, you will ſee " none that are able to ſleep, becauſe of the concern " it gives them."—" By *Jove!* (ſaid the *Sacian*,) nor " will you ſee any of thoſe fall aſleep that at firſt " obtain them, becauſe of the pleaſure it gives them." " You ſay true, (ſaid he,) for if the poſſeſſing them " was as pleaſant as the obtaining them, the rich " would very much exceed the poor in happineſs. " But then, *Sacian!* (ſaid he,) he that poſſeſſes " abundance, muſt of neceſſity expend abundance, " both upon the gods, upon his friends, and upon " ſtrangers. Whoever, therefore, is greatly pleaſed " with the poſſeſſion of riches, be aſſured will be

" greatly

"greatly afflicted at the expence of them."—"By "*Jove!* (ſaid the *Sacian*,) I am not one of thoſe, "but I take it to be a happineſs for a man to have "abundance, and to expend abundance."—"Why, "then, (ſaid *Pheraulas*,) in the name of all the gods! "are not you this inſtant that happy man, to make "me ſo at the ſame time? For do you take poſſeſſion "of all theſe things, and uſe them as you pleaſe; "maintain me only as a ſtranger, or yet more "ſparingly than a ſtranger; for it ſhall be enough "for me to ſhare with you in what you have."—"You jeſt," ſaid the *Sacian*. *Pheraulas* then aſſerted, with an oath, that he ſpoke in earneſt. "And I will gain you, *Sacian!* ſomething farther "from *Cyrus*; and that is, that you ſhall not be "obliged to attend at his doors, nor to engage in "military ſervice, but you ſhall ſtay at home, "abounding in riches. And thoſe other affairs I "will perform for you and for myſelf; and if I get "any thing valuable by my attendance upon *Cyrus*, "or by any military expedition, I will bring it to "you, that you may ſtill have the command of "more: Do you, (ſaid he,) but free me from this "care. For if I can be at leiſure from theſe affairs, "I think that you will be of very great uſe, both "to me and to *Cyrus*."

HAVING thus diſcourſed, they ſettled theſe affairs, and put them in practice. The one thought himſelf made a happy man, by having the command of great riches, and the other reckoned himſelf the moſt

moſt fortunate man in the world, in having a ſteward, who afforded him leiſure to do what was agreeable to him. *Pheraulas* was in his temper extremely kind, and friendly to his acquaintance; and no care or culture beſtowed upon any thing, appeared ſo pleaſing to him, or ſo profitable, as that beſtowed upon men. For man, he thought, was of all other creatures the beſt and the moſt grateful; becauſe he obſerved of men, that when they were commended by any one, they were zealous in their returns of praiſe; that they uſed their endeavours to do kindneſſes to thoſe that had done kindneſſes to them; that they were kindly affected to thoſe whom they knew to be kindly affected to them; and thoſe who they knew had a love for them, they could not poſſibly hate; and that of all other creatures, they were the moſt inclined to make their parents all returns of reſpect and ſervice, both while living, and when dead. And all other animals he reckoned more ungrateful and more ill-natured than man. Thus *Pheraulas* was much delighted, that, by being freed from the care of other poſſeſſions, he ſhould be at leiſure to mind his friends. And the *Sacian* was delighted, becauſe he was to have the poſſeſſion of abundance, and was to ſpend abundance. The *Sacian* loved *Pheraulas*, becauſe he was always bringing him ſomething; and *Pheraulas* loved the *Sacian*, becauſe he was willing to take all; and though he charged himſelf with the care of ſtill

more

more and more, yet he gave him never the more trouble. Thus did theſe men live.

CYRUS having ſacrificed, and making an entertainment with the prize of his victory, invited thoſe of his friends that appeared the moſt deſirous to increaſe his power, and that paid him honour in the moſt affectionate manner; and with them, he invited *Artabazus* the *Mede*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, the *Hyrcanian* commander of horſe, and *Gobrias*. *Gadatas* was the commander of his eunuchs; and all the management within doors was ſettled as he thought fit to regulate it. When there were any that ſupped with him, *Gadatas* did not ſit down, but minded the buſineſs; but when there was no company, he then ſupped with him; for he was pleaſed with his converſation; and in return, he was preſented with many great and noble things, both by *Cyrus* himſelf, and by many others upon *Cyrus*'s account.

As the perſons that were invited to ſupper came, he did not place every one as it happened by chance to fall out, but the man that he moſt eſteemed he placed upon his left-hand, as if this ſide were more expoſed to dangerous deſigns than the right. The next in his eſteem he placed upon his right-hand; the third again upon his left; and the fourth upon his right; and if there were more, he went on with them in the ſame manner. He thought it of ſervice, to make it evident how far he eſteemed every one; becauſe where men

think that he who excels others, is not to have his praiſes publiſhed, nor to receive his rewards; there, it is plain, they have no emulation to each other. But where he that excels has the advantage, there they appear to ſtruggle with the utmoſt zeal. Thus *Cyrus* made thoſe known that were chief in his eſteem; beginning firſt with their place, as they ſat, and as they ſtood by him. Yet this privilege of place in ſitting, he did not make perpetual; but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by noble actions, to the more honourable ſeat; and if he grew negligent and remiſs, might ſink down to the leſs honourable. And if he that was poſſeſſed of the principal ſeat, did not appear to have received the greateſt number of valuable things at his hands, he was aſhamed. And theſe things that were practiſed in the time of *Cyrus*, I perceive continue ſtill thus to this day.

WHEN they had ſupped, it did not appear at all wonderful to *Gobrias*, that a man, who had the command of many, ſhould have every thing in great abundance. But that *Cyrus*, who had performed ſuch great things, if he thought that he had got any thing that was delicate, ſhould never ſpend it himſelf alone, but give himſelf trouble in deſiring his friends that were preſent to ſhare it, this he thought wonderful! and frequently he ſaw him ſend to ſome of his abſent friends, things that he happened to be pleaſed with himſelf. So that when they

had ſupped, and *Cyrus* by preſents to ſeveral, had cleared his table of all that plenty that was upon it, then *Gobrias* ſaid, "before, *Cyrus*, I thought that you "moſt excelled the reſt of men, in being the moſt "able in the command of an army, but now, I "ſwear by the gods! that you excel more in benig-"nity and love to mankind, than in military con-"duct." "And, by *Jove*, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) it is much "more agreeable to ſhew acts of love to men, than "acts of ſkill in the conduct of an army." "How "ſo?" ſaid *Gobrias*. "Becauſe theſe, (ſaid he,) muſt "be ſhewn by doing miſchief to men, and thoſe by "doing them good."

AFTER this, when they had drank a little, *Hyſtaſpes* put this queſtion to *Cyrus*: "Would you be offended, "*Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) if I ſhould aſk you ſomething that "I am deſirous to know from you?" "By the gods! (ſaid he,) "quite the contrary. I ſhould be offended "if I perceived that you retained what you had a "mind to aſk me." "Tell me, then, (ſaid he,) when "you have called me, did I ever refuſe to come?" "Pray be quiet," ſaid *Cyrus*. "Or did I ever obey "your ſummons ſlowly?" "No, nor this neither." "Have I ever neglected to do what you have order-"ed me?" "I do not lay it to your charge," ſaid he. "And in what I have done, can you accuſe "me of not having done it with alacrity and plea-"ſure?" "This, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) the leaſt of all." "In the name of all the gods! then, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,)

"by

" by what means is it, that *Chryſantas* has prevailed " upon you, ſo as to be placed before me in the " more honourable ſeat?" " Shall I tell you?" ſaid *Cyrus*. " By all means," ſaid he. " And will not " you be offended with me when you hear the " truth?" " No, I ſhall be pleaſed, (ſaid he,) if I " find that I am not wronged."—" Then, (ſaid he,) " *Chryſantas* here, in the firſt place, never waited my " call, but, before he was called, was ready at hand " for our ſervice. And then, not only what he was " ordered, but whatever he himſelf thought beſt " for us to be done, that he did. When it was ne- " ceſſary to ſay any thing to our allies, he adviſed " me what he thought was becoming and proper for " me to ſay; and what he perceived I was deſirous " that our allies ſhould know, but was aſhamed to " ſay of myſelf, this he ſpoke, as if he were de- " claring his own opinion. So that in theſe matters, " what hinders him from being reckoned of more uſe " to me, even than myſelf? As to himſelf, he always " ſays, that the things he has are ſufficient for " him. But it appears evidently that he is always " looking out for what it may be of ſervice for me " to have; and, with the advantages that befal me, " he is more delighted and pleaſed than myſelf."—To this *Hyſtaſpes* ſaid, " by *Jove! Cyrus!* I am " pleaſed that I have aſked you theſe things." " And why?" ſaid he. " Becauſe I will endeavour " too to practiſe them. One thing only there is,

(ſaid he,) "that I do not know; and that is, how "to make it evident, that I rejoice at your advan- "tages; whether I muſt clap my hands, or laugh, or "what I muſt do?" *Artabazus* to this ſaid, "you "muſt dance the *Perſian* dance." And at this they laughed.

As the entertainment went on, *Cyrus* put this queſtion to *Gobrias*. "Tell me, (ſaid he,) *Gobrias!* "do you think that you ſhould give your daughter "to one of theſe that are here, with more ſatisfaction "now, than when at firſt you became acquainted "with us." "And muſt I tell the truth, then?" ſaid *Gobrias*. "Yes, by *Jove*, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) ſince "no queſtion requires falſhood in anſwer to it." "Be aſſured then, (ſaid he,) that I ſhould do it with "much more ſatisfaction now." "And can you "give, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) a reaſon why?" "I can." "Give it me then." "Becauſe at that time I ſaw "theſe men bear toils and dangers with alacrity; "but now I ſee them bear proſperity with diſcretion "and good temper. And to me, *Cyrus*, it ap- "pears more difficult, to find a man that bears proſ- "perity well, than one that bears adverſity well. "For proſperity inſpires moſt men with pride and "inſolence; but adverſity gives diſcretion and mo- "deſty of temper to all." Then *Cyrus* ſaid, "do "you hear, *Hyſtaſpes*, this ſaying of *Gobrias*?" "Yes, by *Jove*, (ſaid he,) I do; and if he pronounce "many ſuch, he ſhall much ſooner have me for a

"ſuitor

" ſuitor to his daughter; than if he ſhewed me abun-
" dance of cups of great value." "Truly, (ſaid *Gobrias*,)
" I have a great many ſuch written down; and I
" will not grudge them to you if you have my
" daughter for a wife. But my cups, (ſaid he,) ſince
" you ſeem to diſlike them, I do not know but I
" will give to *Chryſantas* here, eſpecially ſince he has
" run away with your ſeat."

" WELL! (ſaid *Cyrus*,) if you, *Hyſtaſpes*, and the
" reſt that are here preſent, will acquaint me when
" any of you are endeavouring after a wife, you
" will then know how good an aſſiſtant I ſhall
" be to you." *Gobrias* then ſaid, " but if one has a
" mind to diſpoſe of a daughter, who muſt one
" tell it to?" " This, (ſaid *Cyrus*,) muſt be told to
" me too; for I am a notable man in this art."
" What art?" ſaid *Chryſantas*. " Why in know-
" ing what match will beſt ſuit each particular
" man." Then *Chryſantas* ſaid, " in the name of
" all the gods! then, tell me what wife you think
" will beſt ſuit me." " Firſt, (ſaid he,) ſhe muſt
" be little; for you are little yourſelf; and if
" you marry a tall wife, and would kiſs her as ſhe
" ſtands, you muſt leap up like a little dog."
" You are much in the right, (ſaid he,) to provide
" againſt this, for I am by no means a good ca-
" perer." " And then, (ſaid he,) ſhe muſt have
" a noſe that ſinks in the middle." " And what
" is this for?" " Becauſe, (ſaid he,) you have a

" crooked noſe, and a riſing hook will beſt ſuit a " ſinking in." " Do you ſay, then, that a faſting " wife would beſt ſuit one that had feaſted plen- " tifully, as I have done now? " Yes, by *Jove!* (ſaid *Cyrus*,) " for the bellies of thoſe that are full, " riſe; and the bellies of thoſe that are faſting, ſink " in."—" But, in the name of all the gods! (ſaid *Chryſantas*,) can you tell, what wife will be beſt for " a cold king?"—Here *Cyrus* fell a laughing, and ſo did the others. And as they were laughing, *Hyſtaſpes* ſaid, " in the whole compaſs of your " royal dignity, *Cyrus*, I envy you the moſt for this." " For what?" ſaid *Cyrus*. " Why, that as cold " as you are, you can make people laugh." " And " would not you give a great deal, (ſaid *Cyrus* then,) " that theſe things had been ſaid by you, and that " ſhe that you deſire ſhould think well of you, " and ſhould be informed that you are a polite " agreeable man?" — Thus they jeſted one with another.

After this he produced a woman's attire for *Tigranes*, and bid him give it his wife, becauſe ſhe bravely attended her huſband in the ſervice. To *Artabazus* he gave a golden cup; to the *Hyrcanian* a horſe; and many other noble preſents he made: " But, *Gobrias*, (ſaid he,) I will give you a huſband " for your daughter." " And ſhall not I (ſaid *Hyſtaſpes*) " be the man that you will give, that I may

" get

" get thoſe writings?" " Have you ſubſtance enough (ſaid *Cyrus*) " to deſerve the girl?" " Yes, by *Jove!* " I have much more than enough." " And where (ſaid he) " is this ſubſtance of your's?" " Here, (ſaid he,) " where you, my friend, ſit." " That is " enough for me," ſaid *Gobrias*; and holding out his right hand, " Give him me, *Cyrus*, (ſaid he,) for " I accept him." Then *Cyrus*, taking *Hyſtaſpes*'s right hand, preſented it to *Gobrias*, and he received it. After this he made a great many noble preſents to *Hyſtaſpes*, that he might ſend them to the maid; and pulling *Chryſantas* to him, he kiſſed him: Upon this, *Artabazus* ſaid, " By *Jove! Cyrus*, you have not " given me my cup of the ſame gold with this pre- " ſent that you have made *Chryſantas*." " But I will " give you the ſame," ſaid he. He aſked him when? " Thirty years hence," ſaid he. " Well, prepare " yourſelf for me, (ſaid he,) as one that intends to " wait, and not to die before the time." Thus ended this converſation. And when they roſe, *Cyrus* roſe with them, and conducted them to his doors.

THE next day all thoſe of his allies that had voluntarily attended him he diſmiſſed to their homes, excepting ſuch as choſe to live near him; to theſe he gave lands and houſes, which the deſcendants of thoſe who then ſtaid poſſeſs ſtill to this day; and they were for the moſt part *Medes* and *Hyrcanians*. To thoſe that went off he gave many preſents, and diſmiſſed them, both commanders and ſoldiers, with-

out leaving them the leaſt cauſe to complain. After this he divided the treaſure that he gained at *Sardes* among the ſoldiers that were about him; and to the commanders of ten thouſand, and to the officers that were about him, he gave the choice things, according to the merit of every one; the reſt he parcelled out, and giving a ſhare to each of the commanders of ten thouſand, he left it to them to diſtribute it in the ſame manner as he had diſtributed to them; and theſe other treaſures each commander diſtributed to the commanders under him, giving judgment upon the merit of every one: And the commanders of ſix giving judgment upon the private men that were under them, diſtributed the laſt remaining treaſures ſeverally to them, according to their deſert. So they all received their juſt ſhare.

When they had received what was then given them, ſome of them ſpoke of *Cyrus* in this manner: "Surely he muſt have abundance, when he gives ſo "much to every one of us!" But others of them ſaid, "What is the abundance that he has? *Cyrus* is "not of a temper to mind wholly the heaping up of "treaſure, but he is more pleaſed with beſtowing, "than with having it." *Cyrus* perceiving theſe diſcourſes, and the opinions that men had of him, aſſembled his friends, and all the other proper perſons together, and ſpoke to this effect.—"My friends, "I have ſeen men that were willing to be thought "poſſeſſed of more than they really had, and who "thought, by that means, to appear the more gene-

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" rous and noble: But theſe men, in my opinion,
" are drawn into the very reverſe of what they in-
" tend; for he that ſeems to have abundance, and
" does not appear to do that ſervice to his friends
" that is ſuitable to his ſubſtance, gains, in my opi-
" nion, the character of being mean and ſordid.
" There are thoſe, (ſaid he,) on the other ſide, who
" deſire, that what they have may be concealed; and
" theſe too, in my opinion, are faulty to their friends.
" For frequently friends that are in want, avoid tell-
" ing it to their companions, becauſe they are igno-
" rant of what they have, and ſo are deceived. But
" the plaineſt ſimpleſt part, in my opinion, is, to
" make the whole ſtrength of one's fortune appear,
" and with it to try to get the better of others in
" generoſity; I intend, therefore, (ſaid he,) to ſhew
" you every thing that it is poſſible for you to ſee
" of what I have, and of what you cannot ſee, to
" give you an account." Having ſaid this, he ſhew-
ed them abundance of rich and valuable things; and thoſe that lay ſo as not eaſily to be ſeen he gave them an account of; and in concluſion ſaid thus:—" All theſe things, my friends! (ſaid he,) you
" ought to reckon not more mine than yours; for I
" have collected them together, not that I may ſpend
" them myſelf, nor that I may myſelf wear them out,
" for I ſhould not be able to do it, but that I may
" always have wherewithal to preſent any of you,
" upon your performance of any thing great and
" noble; and that in caſe any of you think you are

" in

" in want of any thing, you may come to me and " take what you happen to be in want of." Thus were theſe things ſaid.

But when he thought that affairs were now ſo well ſettled in *Babylon*, that he might venture to travel abroad, he himſelf prepared for a journey into *Perſia*, and gave out orders upon it to others. And when he judged that he was ſufficiently provided with the things he thought he ſhould want, he departed. Now we will give an account how ſo great an equipage was in the moſt orderly manner ſet out, and then again put up together in the ſame manner, and diſpoſed into the place where it ought to be; for wherever the king encamps, they that are about his perſon attend the ſervice with tents, both winter and ſummer.

CYRUS then immediately thought fit to place his own tent fronting to the eaſt. Then he firſt directed at what diſtance from the royal tent the guards ſhould pitch theirs; he then appointed the bakers, and thoſe that were concerned in making the bread, their ſtation upon the right: the cooks theirs upon the left. To the horſes he appointed their ſtation upon the right, and to the other beaſts of burthen theirs upon the left; and all the reſt was ſo diſpoſed, that every one knew his own ſtation, both as to meaſure and place. When they are to put all up, every one packs up ſuch baggage as it was appointed him to uſe; and there are others that place it upon the beaſts of burthen; ſo that all the baggage-carriers come

come up at the ſame time to the things that are ſeverally appointed them to carry; and they all, at the ſame time, place them upon the beaſts that ſeverally belong to them; ſo that the ſame time that ſuffices for the ſtriking of one tent, ſuffices for all. The caſe is the ſame in the diſplaying and ſetting out of all. And with reſpect to the doing all things that are neceſſary in proper time, every one is, in the ſame manner, appointed what he is to do; and by this means the ſame time ſuffices for the doing things in one part and in all. And as the ſervants that diſpatched all the neceſſary buſineſs had all, ſeverally, their proper ſtations, ſo they that bore arms had their ſtations in this encampment ſuitable to the ſort of arms they ſeverally had; they knew what their ſtation was, and all diſpoſed themſelves into it without any heſitation; for *Cyrus* thought the proper placing of things a noble rule in a houſe; becauſe if one happen to want any thing, it is known whither one muſt go to take it. But the proper placing of the ſeveral different ſorts of military men he reckoned a much nobler thing, as the occaſions of putting all to their uſe, in the affairs of war, are more ſudden, and the faults ariſing from thoſe that are dilatory in them are of worſe conſequence; and the moſt valuable advantages in war, he obſerved, aroſe from having all things ready for the occaſion. Upon theſe accounts, therefore, he took the greateſt care of this propriety of place.

FIRST,

FIRST, then, he placed himſelf in the midſt of the camp, as being the ſtrongeſt and ſecureſt ſtation; then thoſe whom he chiefly confided in, he had, according to cuſtom, about himſelf. Next to theſe, in a circle round, he had the horſemen and charioteers; for he was of opinion, that a ſecure ſtation was neceſſary for theſe people, becauſe they encamp without having at hand any of thoſe arms that they engage with, and require a conſiderable time to arm themſelves if they are to advance ſo as to do any ſervice. To the right and left of himſelf, and of the horſemen, was the ſtation of the ſhield-men. The ſtation of the archers was before and behind himſelf and the horſemen. The heavy-armed men, and ſuch as had large ſhields, he had in a circle round all, as a rampart, that in caſe there were any occaſion for the horſemen to make ready, they that were the fitteſt to make a ſtand being placed before them, might give them time to arm ſecurely. And as the heavy-armed men ſlept there in order round him, ſo did the ſhield-men and archers; ſo that even in the night-time, if the occaſion required, as the heavy-armed men were ready prepared to come to blows with ſuch as came up cloſe with them, ſo the archers and javelin-men, if any people approached them, were ready to diſcharge their javelins and arrows over the heads of the heavy-armed; and all the commanders had enſigns on their tents. And as in cities diſcreet and good ſervants know the habitations of moſt people, but chiefly of thoſe that it is

proper

proper for them to know; ſo did the ſervants of *Cyrus* know the ſtations that the chief leaders had in the encampments, and knew the enſigns that belonged to each of them; ſo that whatever *Cyrus* might want, they were not to ſeek for them, but ran the ſhorteſt way directly to each of them. And by means of the ſeveral ſets of people being diſtinct, it was much the more readily obſerved when any one was diſorderly, and when any one did not perform what he was commanded. And things ſtanding thus, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, either by night or day, ſuch aggreſſor would fall into his camp as into an ambuſcade.

AND he did not only think it a part of the tactick-art for a man to be able to draw up a phalanx eaſily and cleverly, or to increaſe it in depth, or to form a phalanx upon the wing, or upon the enemy's appearing to the right, the left, or the rear, to wheel properly; but to ſeparate men when it was proper, he took to be a part of this art; to poſt each part where they might be moſt ſerviceable, and to make diſpatch where it migh t be fit to prevent the enemy. All theſe things, and ſuch like, he took to be the buſineſs of a man ſkilled in tacticks. He took care of all theſe things alike; and in his marches he moved always in a diſpoſition ſuitable to what occurred; but in his encampments he placed his people for the moſt part as has been ſaid.

WHEN, in the courſe of their march, they arrived in the *Median* territory, *Cyrus* turned off to viſit *Cyaxares*;

Cyaxares; and after they had embraced each other, *Cyrus* firſt told *Cyaxares*, that there were domeſtics and palaces ſet apart for him in *Babylon*, that when he came thither he might have what was his own to come to. And he then made him a great many other noble preſents. *Cyaxares* received them, and ſent his daughter to him with a crown of gold and with bracelets, with a collar, and a *Median* robe that was as fine as was poſſible; and the maid put the crown upon *Cyrus*'s head. *Cyaxares* then ſaid, "I "give you the maid too, *Cyrus*, for your wife; ſhe "is my own daughter; your father married my fa- "ther's daughter, and from her you are deſcended; "this is ſhe, that when you was a boy, and amongſt "us, you uſed to fondle, and when any one aſked "her who ſhe would marry, ſhe ſaid *Cyrus*; and "with her I give all *Media* as her dowry, for I have "no legitimate male iſſue." Thus he ſpoke, and *Cyrus* replied, "O *Cyaxares!* I applaud the race, the "maid, and the preſents that attend her! And with "the conſent (ſaid he) of my father and mother, I "am ready to agree with you." Thus *Cyrus* ſpoke, but yet he preſented the maid with all that he thought would be pleaſing to *Cyaxares*; and having done this he continued his march to *Perſia*.

AND when, in the courſe of his march, he arrived at the borders of *Perſia*, there he left the reſt of the army. But he himſelf, together with his friends, proceeded on to the city; carrying with him ſuch numbers of victims, as were ſufficient for all the

Perſians

Perſians to ſacrifice and feaſt upon. He brought with him ſuch preſents as were proper for his father and mother, and his other friends; and ſuch as were proper for the elders and magiſtrates, and for all the alike-honoured. He gave likewiſe to all the *Perſians*, both men and women, ſuch preſents as the king ſtill makes at this day, when he comes into *Perſia*. After this, *Cambyſes* aſſembled the *Perſian* elders and magiſtrates, who had the direction of the greateſt affairs; he ſummoned likewiſe *Cyrus*, and ſpoke to this effect:

"MEN of *Perſia!* and you, O *Cyrus!* I have "juſtly an affection for you both; for over you I "am King, and you *Cyrus!* are my ſon. It is juſt, "therefore, that I ſhould lay before you whatever I "judge to be of advantage to you both. With re- "ſpect to the time paſt, you have advanced *Cyrus* "in his fortune, by granting an army, and by con- "ſtituting him the commander of it. *Cyrus*, in the "conduct of this army, has, with the help of the "gods! gained you, O *Perſians!* glory amongſt "all men, and honour throughout all *Aſia!* Of "thoſe that ſerved with him, the better ſort he has "enriched, and the multitude he has provided with "their pay, and with their maintenance; and by "conſtituting a *Perſian* cavalry, he has given the "*Perſians* a ſhare in the command of the plains. "If you continue, therefore, for the future, in the "ſame ſentiments, you will be the authors of many "advantages to each other. But if either you,

"*Cyrus!*

" *Cyrus!* elevated with your preſent happy circum-
" ſtances, attempt to rule the *Perſians* as you do the
" others, with regard only to your own intereſt;
" or if you, citizens! envying him his power, en-
" deavour to wreſt the empire from him; be aſ-
" ſured, that you will hinder each other from ob-
" taining many advantages. Therefore, that things
" may not fall out thus, but rather happily for you,
" my opinion is, (ſaid he,) that we make a ſacrifice
" in common; and calling the gods to witneſs!
" ſtipulate — that you — *Cyrus!* in caſe any one
" make war upon the *Perſian* territory, or attempt
" to deſtroy the *Perſian* laws, ſhall aſſiſt in their
" defence, with your whole force: And that you —
" *Perſians!* in caſe any one attempt to put an end
" to *Cyrus*'s empire, or to excite any of his ſubjects
" to revolt, ſhall yield ſuch aſſiſtance in defence of
" yourſelves, and of *Cyrus*, as he ſhall order. — Whilſt
" I live, the royal dignity amongſt the *Perſians* is
" mine; when I am dead, it then plainly belongs
" to *Cyrus*, if he lives. And when he comes into
" *Perſia*, it may be perhaps of religious concern to
" you, that he ſhould make theſe ſacrifices for you
" that I now make. But when he is abroad, I think
" it will be proper, that that perſon of our race that
" appears to you to be the moſt worthy, ſhould
" perform the ſacred rites."

UPON *Cambyſes*'s ſaying this, *Cyrus*, and the *Perſian* magiſtrates, joined in opinion with him. And having at that time agreed upon theſe things, (calling upon

the

the gods as witneſſes!) the *Perſians* and the king continue ſtill to this day to put them in practice, one towards another.

WHEN theſe things were performed, *Cyrus* went away: And when he came into *Media*, in his journey back, upon its being agreed to by his father and mother, he married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, who at this day has ſtill the fame of having been extremely beautiful. There are ſome authors who ſay, that he married his mother's ſiſter: But ſhe muſt have been a woman in years, much more probably than one ſo young. When he had married her, he preſently departed, and took her with him.

WHEN he was at *Babylon*, he thought it now proper for him to conſtitute governors or ſatraps over the conquered nations. But the commanders of the garriſons in caſtles, and the commanders of thouſands, that were appointed for the guard of the country, he would not allow to obey the orders of any but himſelf. He uſed this foreſight, upon conſideration, that if any of the ſatraps, by means of their riches, and the numbers of their people, ſhould grow inſolent, and attempt to withdraw their obedience from him, they might immediately meet with oppoſers upon the place. Deſiring, therefore, to bring this about, he determined firſt to call together all the proper perſons, and to declare it to them, that they who went upon theſe employments, might know upon what foot they went; for by this means he thought they would the more eaſily bear

it. But if any one were firſt conſtituted a commander, and then made the diſcovery, he was of opinion, that men would bear this with difficulty, imagining that it was done out of diſtruſt of them.

So aſſembling them together, he ſpoke to this effect: — "My friends! in the cities that have been "conquered, there are garriſons and commanders "over them, that I left there at the time. And "when I went away, I gave them orders not to take "upon themſelves any other buſineſs than to pre-"ſerve the fortreſſes. Therefore I will not deprive "theſe men of their power, ſince they have diſ-"charged themſelves handſomely in the guarding of "what they had in charge. But I think it proper "for me to ſend other governors, who ſhall take "upon them the rule of the inhabitants; and who, "receiving the revenues, ſhall give the garriſons "their pay, and diſcharge whatever elſe is neceſſary. "And to thoſe of you here, that I ſhall give em-"ployment, and ſend to perform any buſineſs in "the ſeveral nations, I think it proper to diſtribute "lands and houſes there; that the tribute may be "there paid them, and that they may bring it to "this place, and when they go thither, that they "may have what is their own to go to." — Thus he ſaid. And to many of his friends he gave houſes and dependents throughout all the conquered cities. And theſe precincts remain ſtill at this day in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of thoſe who then received them; ſome in one country, and ſome in another;

another; and they themſelves reſide with the king.—"And we ought, (ſaid he,) to look out for ſuch "ſatraps to go into theſe precincts, as will remem-"ber to ſend hither whatever there is that is excel-"lent and valuable in every country; that we, "who are here, may ſhare of all that is excellent in "every part: For if any misfortune befal them, it "will lie upon us to defend them from it."

HAVING ſaid thus, he ended his diſcourſe. And then from amongſt his friends that he knew were deſirous to go upon the terms expreſſed, chooſing out ſuch as he thought the moſt proper, he ſent them as ſatraps. To *Arabia*, he ſent *Magabyzus*; to *Cappadocia*, *Artabatas*; to the *Greater Phrygia*, *Artacamas*; to *Lydia* and *Ionia*, *Chryſantas*; to *Caria*, *Caduſius*; as that people themſelves had deſired; to *Phrygia*, on the *Helleſpont*, and *Æolia*, *Pharnuchus*. To *Cilicia*, to *Cyprus*, and to the *Paphlagonians*, he ſent no *Perſian* ſatraps, becauſe they ſeemed to have joined of their own accord with him in his expedition againſt *Babylon*. But he appointed theſe likewiſe a tribute that they were to pay, according to *Cyrus*'s eſtabliſhment at that time; ſo that they are ſtill at this day garriſons belonging to the king in the fortreſſes; and commanders of thouſands appointed by the king to command thoſe forces, and ſet down in a liſt belonging to the king.

THE ſatraps that were thus ſent out, he beforehand directed, to imitate as near as was poſſible, whatever they ſaw him practiſe. And in the firſt

place, that each ſatrap, out of ſuch of the *Perſians*, and of the confederates, as attended him, ſhould eſtabliſh a number of horſe-men, and charioteers; and then ſhould oblige ſuch as had lands and palaces, to pay their attendance at his doors; and practiſing diſcreet and modeſt manners, to yield themſelves to the ſervice of the ſatrap, if any occaſion ſhould ſo require. And that he ſhould diſcipline at his doors the boys that theſe men had, as was practiſed by himſelf. And that the ſatrap ſhould take thoſe that attended at his doors out with him to hunt; and exerciſe himſelf, and thoſe about him, in military affairs. "And the man, (ſaid he,) that, in "proportion to his ability, produces me the moſt "chariots, and the moſt and the beſt horſe-men, "him will I reward, as an excellent fellow-ſoldier, "and as an excellent fellow guardian and preſerver "of the empire to the *Perſians* and myſelf. Let the "beſt men with you be honoured with the principal "feats, as they are with me, and let your table, "as mine does, maintain in the firſt place your do-"meſticks; and then let it be ſufficiently furniſhed "to afford your friends to partake of it; and allow "you every day to reward any one that may have "done a handſome action. Get yourſelves parks, "and maintain wild beaſts; and neither ſet meat "at any time before yourſelves without having taken "pains, nor throw food to your horſes unexerciſed. "For it is impoſſible for me, who am but one, with "all the virtue that belongs to human nature, to

"preſerve

" preſerve all you in ſafety and proſperity; but it is " my part, making myſelf a worthy man, together " with other worthy men about me, to be an aſſiſtant " to you. And it is, in like manner, your part, " making yourſelves worthy men, together with other " men of worth about you, to be friends and ſup- " ports to me. And I deſire likewiſe, that you " would obſerve, that of all theſe orders that I now " give you, I give none to thoſe that are of ſervile " condition. And that the things which I ſay you " ought to do, theſe I endeavour myſelf to practiſe. " And as I exhort you to imitate me, ſo do you in- " ſtruct thoſe that are in command under you, to " imitate you."

CYRUS having thus regulated theſe affairs at that time, all the garriſons under the king are ſtill, at this day, kept likewiſe in the ſame method. The doors of all the commanders are frequented in the like manner. All families, both great and little, are in the like manner regulated. The moſt deſerving men, in all companies, are honoured with the princi- pal feats. All marches are ordered in the ſame me- thod; and the great multitude of affairs is parcelled out into diſtinct heads, under a few principal di- rectors.

HAVING told them in what manner they were each of them to manage in theſe affairs, and having given to each of them a force, he ſent them away, and told them all before-hand, that in the following year an

expedition would be undertaken, and a review taken both of men and arms, horſes and chariots.

THERE is another thing that we have obſerved, which they ſay was begun by *Cyrus*, and continues to this day: That there is a certain perſon who, at the head of an army, takes a progreſs every year, and who, in caſe any of the ſatraps want aſſiſtance, affords it them; and if any of them grow inſolent, reduces them to temper; and if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or the care of having the land cultivated, or leaves any other of his orders unexecuted, he puts all theſe things to rights: Or if he is not able to do it himſelf he makes a report to the king, and when the king has had an account of it, he takes advice how to deal with the tranſgreſſing perſon. And commonly they who take this progreſs are the king's ſon or the king's brother, or one of thoſe they call the king's eye. And ſometimes they do not appear, for they each of them return upon the firſt orders from the king.

WE have likewiſe been informed of another contrivance of his, with regard to the extent of his empire, by means of which he had immediate intelligence of what paſſed in the moſt remote parts of his government: For obſerving how far a horſe was able to travel in a day, he built ſtables at that diſtance, and ſupplied them with horſes, and perſons to have the care of them; and he appointed a certain perſon at each of theſe ſtages to receive the letters, and to deliver them out, and to receive thoſe horſes

that

that had compleated their ſtage, and to furniſh freſh ones. And it is ſaid, that the night did not give any interruption to theſe ſtages; for as ſoon as he arrived who had been his progreſs all day, another continued it during the night. And in this manner they are ſaid to fly ſwifter than cranes; but though that be falſe, yet it is manifeſt that this is the quickeſt way of travelling for men; beſides, it is of uſe to have early intelligence of every thing, that immediate proviſion may be made.

AT the concluſion of the year, *Cyrus* aſſembled his army together at *Babylon*, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, two thouſand chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſixty thouſand foot; and having prepared them for it, he undertook that expedition, in which he is reported to have ſubdued all thoſe nations which lie from the entrance into *Syria* as far as the *Red Sea*. His next expedition is ſaid to have been againſt *Ægypt*, which he alſo ſubdued. Then *Cyrus*'s empire was bounded to the eaſt by the *Red Sea*, to the north by the *Euxine Sea*, to the weſt by *Cyprus* and *Ægypt*, to the ſouth by *Æthiopia*; the extremities of which countries are difficult to inhabit, ſome of them from exceſs of heat, ſome of them from exceſs of cold, ſome from too great abundance of water, others from a ſcarcity of water.

CYRUS reſiding in the center of theſe countries, ſpent the ſeven winter months at *Babylon*, becauſe that climate is warm, the three ſpring months at

Suſa, and the two ſummer months at *Ecbatan*; by which means he is ſaid to have enjoyed a perpetual ſpring with reſpect to heat and cold. And men ſtood ſo affected towards him, that every nation thought they did themſelves an injury if they did not ſend *Cyrus* the moſt valuable productions of their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own; and every city did the ſame; and every private man thought himſelf rich if he could oblige *Cyrus*; for as *Cyrus* accepted from each of what they poſſeſſed in abundance, ſo in return he diſtributed to them what he obſerved they were in want of.

AFTER he had thus ſpent ſome conſiderable time, *Cyrus*, now in a very advanced age, takes a journey into *Perſia*, which was his ſeventh from the acquiſition of his empire, when his father and mother had probably been for ſome time dead. *Cyrus* made the uſual ſacrifices, and danced the *Perſian* dance, according to the cuſtom of his country, and diſtributed to every one preſents as uſual: Then being aſleep in the royal palace he had the following dream.—There ſeemed to advance towards him a perſon with a more than human majeſty in his air and countenance, and to ſay to him, "*Cyrus!* prepare yourſelf, for you are "now going to the gods!" After this appearance in his dream he awaked, and ſeemed aſſured that his end drew near; therefore taking along with him the victims, he ſacrificed on the ſummit of a mountain (as is the cuſtom in *Perſia*) to *Jove Paternal*, the *Sun*,

and

and the reſt of the *gods*, accompanying the ſacrifices with this prayer:

" *O Jove Paternal! Sun! and all ye Gods!* receive " theſe ſacrifices as the completion of many worthy " and handſome actions; and as grateful acknow- " ledgments for having ſignified to me, both by " the victims, by celeſtial ſigns, by birds, and by " omens, what became me to do and not to do. " And I abundantly return you thanks, that I have " been ſenſible of your care and protection; and " that in the courſe of my proſperity I never was " exalted above what became a man. I implore you " now to beſtow all happineſs on my children! my " wife! my friends! and my country!—And for " myſelf, that I may die as I have always lived!"

WHEN he had finiſhed his ſacrifices and prayer, he returned home, and finding himſelf diſpoſed to be quiet, he laid down. At a certain hour proper perſons attended, and offered him to waſh; he told them that he had reſted very well. Then at another hour, proper officers brought him his ſupper; but *Cyrus* had no appetite to eat, but ſeemed thirſty, and drank with pleaſure. And continuing thus the ſecond and third days, he ſent for his ſons, who, as it happened, had attended their father, and were then in *Perſia*; he ſummoned likewiſe his friends and the Magiſtrates of *Perſia*. When they were all met, he began in this manner:

" *CHILDREN!* and all you *my friends* here " preſent, the concluſion of my life is now at hand,

" which

" which I certainly know from many ſymptoms.
" You ought, when I am dead, to act and ſpeak of
" me in every thing as a happy man: For when I
" was a child, I ſeemed to have received advantage
" from what is eſteemed worthy and handſome in
" children; ſo likewiſe when I was a youth, from
" what is eſteemed ſo in young men; ſo when I came
" to be a man, from what is eſteemed worthy and
" handſome in men. And I have always ſeemed to
" obſerve myſelf encreaſe with time in ſtrength and
" vigour; ſo that I have not found myſelf weaker
" or more infirm in my old age than in my youth.
" Neither do I know that I have deſired or under-
" taken any thing in which I have not ſucceeded.
" By my means, my friends have been made hap-
" py, and my enemies enſlaved; and my country,
" at firſt inconſiderable in *Aſia*, I leave in great re-
" putation and honour. Neither do I know that I
" have not preſerved whatever I acquired. And
" though, in time paſt, all things have ſucceeded ac-
" cording to my wiſhes, yet an apprehenſion, leſt in
" proceſs of time I ſhould ſee, hear, or ſuffer ſome
" difficulty, has not let me be too much elated, or
" too extravagantly delighted. Now, if I die, I
" leave you, children, behind me, (whom the gods
" have given me,) and I leave my country and my
" friends happy. Ought not I, therefore, in juſtice,
" to be always remembered, and mentioned as for-
" tunate and happy?—I muſt likewiſe declare to
" whom I leave my kingdom; leſt that, being doubt-

ful,

" ful, ſhould hereafter raiſe diſſentions among you.—
" Now, children, I bear an equal affection to you
" both, but I direct, that the elder ſhould have the
" adviſing and conducting of affairs, as his age re-
" quires it; and it is probable he has more experience.
" And as I have been inſtructed by my country and
" yours to give place to thoſe older than myſelf,
" not only brothers, but fellow-citizens, both in
" walking, ſitting, and ſpeaking, ſo I have inſtructed
" you, from your youth, to ſhew a regard to your
" elders, and to receive the like from ſuch as were
" inferior to you in age. Receive, then, this diſ-
" poſition as ancient, cuſtomary, and legal; do you,
" therefore, *Cambyſes!* hold the kingdom, as allotted
" you by the gods, and by me, ſo far as it is in my
" power. To you, *Tanoaxares*, I bequeath the ſa-
" trapy of the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Caducians*;
" which, when I allot you, I think I leave your eldeſt
" brother a larger empire, and the title of a king-
" dom, but to you a happineſs freer from care and
" vexation. For I do not ſee what human ſatisfac-
" tion you can need; but you will enjoy whatever
" appears agreeable and pleaſing to men. An affec-
" tion for ſuch things as are difficult to execute, a
" multitude of pains, and an impoſſibility of being
" quiet, anxiety from an emulation of my actions,
" forming deſigns yourſelf, and having deſigns form-
" ed againſt you; theſe are things which muſt more
" neceſſarily attend a king, than one in your ſtation;
" and be aſſured, theſe give many interruptions to

" pleaſure

" pleaſure and ſatisfaction. Know therefore, *Cam-*
" *byſes!* that it is not the golden ſcepter, which can
" preſerve your kingdom; but faithful friends are
" a prince's trueſt and ſecureſt ſcepter. But do not
" imagine that men are naturally faithful; (for then
" they would appear ſo to all, as other natural en-
" dowments do) but every one muſt render others
" faithful to himſelf. And they are not to be procured
" by violence, but rather by kindneſs and beneficence.
" If, therefore, you would conſtitute others joint-
" guardians with you of your kingdom, whom
" can you better begin with than him, who
" is of the ſame blood of yourſelf? And fellow-
" citizens are nearer to us than ſtrangers, and thoſe
" who live and eat with us, than thoſe that do not.
" And thoſe who have the ſame original, who have
" been nouriſhed by the ſame mother, and grown up
" in the ſame houſe, and beloved by the ſame
" parents, and who call upon the ſame father and
" mother, are not they of all others the neareſt to
" us? Do not you, therefore, render thoſe advan-
" tages fruitleſs, by which the gods unite brothers in
" affinity and relation; but to thoſe advantages,
" add other friendly offices; and by that means your
" friendſhip will be reciprocally ſolid and laſting.
" The taking care of a brother, is providing for one's
" ſelf. To whom can the advancement of a bro-
" ther be equally honourable, as to a brother? Who
" can ſhew a regard to a great and powerful man,
" equal to his brother? Who will fear to injure ano-

" ther

" ther ſo much as him, whoſe brother is in an ex-
" alted ſtation? Be, therefore, ſecond to none in
" ſubmiſſion and good will to your brother, ſince
" no one can be ſo particularly ſerviceable or inju-
" jurious to you; and I would have you conſider
" how you can hope for greater advantages, by
" obliging any one ſo much as him? Or whom
" can you aſſiſt that will be ſo powerful an ally in
" war? Or what is more infamous than want of
" friendſhip between brothers? Who, of all men,
" can we ſo handſomely pay regard to, as to a bro-
" ther? In a word, *Cambyſes!* your brother is the
" only one you can advance next to your perſon,
" without the envy of others. Therefore, in the
" name of the gods, children! have regard to one
" another, if you are careful to do what is acceptable
" to me. — For you ought not to imagine you
" certainly know, that, after I have cloſed this
" period of human life, I ſhall no longer exit.
" For neither do you ſee my ſoul, but you con-
" clude from its operations, that it does exiſt.
" And have not you obſerved, what terrors and
" apprehenſions murderers are inſpired with, by
" thoſe who have ſuffered violence from them?
" What racks and tortures do they convey to the
" guilty? Or how do you think honours ſhould
" have continued to be paid to the deceaſed, if
" their ſouls were deſtitute of all power and virtue?
" No, children, I can never be perſuaded, that the
" ſoul lives no longer than it dwells in this mortal
" body,

" body, and that it dies on its ſeparation. For I
" ſee that the ſoul communicates vigour and motion
" to mortal bodies, during its continuance in
" them. Neither can I be perſuaded that the ſoul
" is diveſted of intelligence, on its ſeparation from
" this groſs ſenſeleſs body. But it is probable, that
" when the ſoul is ſeparated, it becomes pure and
" entire, and is then more intelligent. It is evident,
" that on man's diſſolution, every part of him re-
" turns to what is of the ſame nature with itſelf,
" except the ſoul. That alone is inviſible, both
" during its preſence here, and at its departure.
" And you may have obſerved, that nothing re-
" ſembles death ſo much as ſleep; but then it is,
" that the human ſoul appears moſt divine, and has
" a proſpect of futurity, for then it is probable,
" the ſoul is moſt free and independent.—If there-
" fore things are as I think, and that the ſoul leaves
" the body, having regard to my ſoul, comply
" with my requeſt.—But if it be otherwiſe, and that
" the ſoul continuing in the body, periſhes with it,
" let nothing appear in your thoughts or actions,
" criminal or impious, for fear of the gods, who
" are external, whoſe power and inſpection ex-
" tends over all things, and who preſerve the har-
" mony and order of the univerſe free from decay or
" defect, whoſe greatneſs and beauty is inexplica-
" ble.—Next to the gods, have regard to the whole
" race of mankind, in perpetual ſucceſſion. For the
" gods have not concealed you in obſcurity; but

" there

" there is a neceſſity, your actions ſhould be conſpicu-
" ous to the world. If they are virtuous, and free
" from injuſtice, they will give you power and in-
" tereſt in all men. But if you project what is
" unjuſt againſt each other, no man will truſt you;
" for no one can place a confidence in you, though his
" inclination to it be never ſo great, when he ſees
" you unjuſt, where it moſt becomes you to be a
" friend. If, therefore, I have not rightly inſtructed
" you what you ought to be to one another, learn
" it from thoſe who lived before our time, for that
" will be the beſt leſſon. For there are many who
" have lived affectionate parents to their children,
" and friends to their brothers; and ſome there
" are, who have acted the oppoſite part towards
" each other. Whichſoever of theſe you ſhall ob-
" ſerve to have been moſt advantageous, you will
" do well in giving it the preference in your choice.
" But perhaps this is ſufficient, as to theſe matters.—
" When I am dead, children! do not inſhrine my
" body in gold, nor in ſilver, nor any thing elſe
" but lay it in the *earth* as ſoon as poſſibie. For
" what can be more happy than to mix with the
" *earth*, which gives birth and nouriſhment to all
" things excellent and good? and as I have always
" hitherto bore an affection to men, ſo it is now
" moſt pleaſing to me, to incorporate with that
" which is beneficial to men.—Now, (ſaid he,) it
" ſeems to me, that my ſoul is beginning to leave

" me,

" me, in the ſame manner as it is probable it begins " its departure with others. If, therefore, any of " you are deſirous of touching my right hand, or " willing to ſee my face, while it has life, come near " to me. For when I ſhall have covered it, I requeſt " of you children, that neither yourſelves, nor any " others would look upon my body. Summon all " the *Perſians* and their allies before my tomb, to re- " joice for me; that I ſhall be then out of danger of " ſuffering any evil; whether I ſhall be with the " deity, or ſhall be reduced to nothing! As many as " come, do you diſmiſs with all thoſe favours that are " thought proper for a happy man. And, (ſaid he,) " remember this, as my laſt and dying words!—If " you do kindneſſes to your friends, you will be " able to injure your enemies.—Farewel! dear " children! and tell this to your mother, as from " me. And all you, my friends! both ſuch of " you as are here preſent, and the reſt who are " abſent! farewel!"—Having ſaid this, and taken every one by the right hand, he covered himſelf, and thus expired.

THAT *Cyrus*'s empire was the nobleſt and moſt extenſive in *Aſia*, is even confirmed by itſelf. It was terminated to the eaſt by the *Red Sea*; to the north by the *Euxine Sea*; to the weſt by *Cyprus* and *Egypt*; to the ſouth by *Æthiopia*; and though of ſuch an extent, was governed by the ſingle will of *Cyrus*. And to thoſe who were ſubject to him, he ſhewed *all* kindneſs and regard, as to children,

and

and they paid *Cyrus* duty and reſpect, as to a father. Immediately on *Cyrus*'s death, his ſons fell into diſſentions, cities and nations revolted, every thing tending to ruin. To ſhew that what I aſſert is truth, I will begin by things divine.

I KNOW that in early times of their inſtitution, the king, and thoſe that were ſubject to him, were religious obſervers of their oaths, and ſteady to their promiſes, even to the moſt criminal. If they had not been ſo, and that opinion of them had prevailed, no one would have truſted them; as at this time no one will, ſince their impiety is notorious. Neither had the commanders of the army, in the expedition with *Cyrus*, put the confidence in them they did. But relying on the antient opinion of their faith, they delivered themſelves into their hands, and being brought to the king, had their heads cut off. And many barbarians in that expedition periſhed in different ways by their treachery and deceit.

WITH reſpect likewiſe to theſe things, they are now degenerated from what they were. For in their primitive inſtitution, if any one hazarded himſelf for his king, or ſubdued any city or nation, or performed any great or excellent action, he had honours conferred upon him. Now if any one, as *Mithridates* did *Ariobarſanes*, betrays his father, and as *Leomithres*, his wife and children, and his friends children, left as hoſtages in *Ægypt*, in violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements, he is eſ-

teemed to have done what is profitable to his prince, and is loaded with the higheſt honours. "The "*Aſiaticks* being ſpectators of theſe things, are them- "ſelves ſunk into impiety and injuſtice. For go- "vernments always reſemble their governors; and "the proſperity or declenſion, the vigour or decay "of all ſtates, is derived from the virtues and vices, "the abilities or weakneſs, of their rulers." For this reaſon, they are more unjuſt now than they were formerly. They are likewiſe more corrupt with reſpect to riches; for they do not only impriſon ſuch as are highly criminal, but the innocent; and, contrary to juſtice, enforce the payment of their arbitrary impoſitions. So that they who have great eſtates, are under the ſame apprehenſions as thoſe that are involved in great crimes. For this reaſon they will not aſſociate with the better ſort, nor dare they enliſt themſelves in the king's army. Therefore, thoſe that are at war with them, may ſecurely ravage the country without any oppoſition, if they are diſpoſed to do it; which is owing to the impiety of the *Perſians* towards the gods, and their iniquity towards men. Thus are their minds and diſpoſitions debauched to what they had been in their firſt inſtitution.

How defective they are in the care of their bodies, I will in the next place relate. It was part of their inſtitution, not to ſpit, or blow the noſe; but it is manifeſt, this was not intended to ſpare the diſcharges of the body, but they intended to diſperſe

thoſe

thoſe humours by exerciſe and ſweat, and by that means to fortify their bodies. And the cuſtom of not ſpitting or blowing the noſe yet continues, though that of exerciſing is not practiſed. They likewiſe originally uſed to make only one meal a day, that the reſt of the day might be employed in action, and the diſpatch of buſineſs; and that cuſtom yet continues.—But beginning their meal very early, they continue eating and drinking till the lateſt ſitters-up go to bed.

IT was likewiſe an inſtitution among them, not to bring large bottles to their banquets; evidently thinking, that by not drinking to exceſs, they ſhould neither weaken their bodies, nor impair their underſtandings. And that cuſtom too continues, of not bringing ſuch bottles; but they drink to ſuch exceſs, that inſtead of bringing in, they are carried out themſelves, not being able to walk without help. It was alſo a cuſtom of their country, when they were on a journey, neither to eat nor drink, nor to do publickly what is the neceſſary conſequence of both. Abſtinence from theſe things yet continues: But their journeys are ſo ſhort, that their abſtaining from thoſe neceſſities is nothing wonderful or extraordinary.

FORMERLY they went a hunting ſo often, that thoſe chaces were ſufficient exerciſe for themſelves and their horſes. But ſince king *Artaxerxes* and his companions have debauched themſelves with wine, they do not ſo frequently go out themſelves, nor lead

lead others thoſe chaces. Wherefore, if ſome, from a fondneſs to exerciſe, have gone out a hunting, they have manifeſtly incurred envy and hatred from thoſe who thought it a mark of ſuperiority, and of being better than themſelves.

THE cuſtom yet likewiſe continues, of a publick education of the children; but the practice of horſemanſhip is neglected, becauſe there are no publick aſſemblies where they can gain applauſe by thoſe exerciſes. And this inſtitution is in every circumſtance altered; that the boys, hearing the juſt and equitable determinations of private cauſes, were inſtructed in juſtice and equity; for now they ſee thoſe certainly prevail, who give the moſt exorbitant bribes. Formerly likewiſe, boys were taught the virtues of the ſeveral productions of the earth, by which means they made uſe of ſuch as were good, and abſtained from thoſe that were noxious. At this time they ſeem to be only inſtructed how to do the moſt hurt, therefore deaths and poiſonings are no where ſo frequent as amongſt them. And they are now much more luxurious than in *Cyrus*'s time. For then they practiſed the *Perſian* inſtitutions and temperance, and conformed to the dreſs and elegance of the *Medes*; but now they have ſuffered the ſeverity of the *Perſians* to be quite extinguiſhed, and retain the effeminacy of the *Medes*, which effeminacy and delicacy of theirs, I have a mind to explain.

IN the firſt place, it is not ſufficient for them to have ſoft couches, but they muſt have carpets for their

their feet, that the floors may not, by reſiſtance, make a noiſe, but that the carpets may break the ſound. There is no diminution of what victuals uſed formerly to ſupply their tables, but new continually invented. And the like in ſauces, for they are provided with cooks, who ſupply them with variety in both kinds. In winter it is not ſufficient for them to cover their heads, their bodies, and their feet, but they have hair gloves for their hands. In ſummer, the ſhade of trees and of rocks does not ſatisfy them, but under theſe, men ſtand near them with artificial ſhades contrived on purpoſe. If they poſſeſs a great number of cups, they are puffed up with it as a piece of magnificence; and if theſe be unjuſtly acquired, they do not conſider it as infamous; for injuſtice, and a ſordid love of gain, is mightily encreaſed among them. Formerly it was a cuſtom of their country, never to be ſeen on foot on their journies, for no other reaſon, but in order to become more ſkilful horſemen. Now they have more coverings on their horſes than on their couches; for they are not ſo careful of what concerns their horſes, as to ſit ſoft and at their eaſe.

WITH reſpect to the affairs of war, is it probable they ſhould not be very much inferior to what they were at firſt? It was cuſtomary, in the beginning, that thoſe who poſſeſſed lands ſhould furniſh horſemen for their army, and pay thoſe that were in garriſons, if they fought in defence of the country; now porters, cooks, drawers, bed-makers, dreſſers,

waiters at the baths, ſervants at table, and perfumers, are inliſted in their horſe by the great men, that they themſelves may make an advantage of their pay. Theſe make an appearance in number, but are of no uſe in war; which is manifeſt in experience, for their enemies have a freer paſſage through their country than their friends. When *Cyrus* had broke them of the cuſtom of engaging at a diſtance, he armed with breaſt-plates both them and their horſes, and gave every one a javelin in his hand, which they might uſe in a cloſe battle; but now they neither engage at a diſtance nor at hand. The foot have yet ſhields, and ſmall ſwords or cutlaſſes, as in *Cyrus*'s time, but they will not venture to come to an engagement. Neither are the chariots of that uſe *Cyrus* deſigned them; for he had made brave and ſkilful drivers, by beſtowing rewards and honours upon them who would fall on the heavy-armed part of an army. The *Perſians* now, ſcarce knowing who are in the chariots, imagine, that ſuch as are unexerciſed in driving, underſtand it as well as thoſe that have practiſed it. They do indeed make an attack, but before they can break into the enemy's ranks, ſome of their own accord fall off, others jump down and get away, ſo that the chariots, being without any guides, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. Since they themſelves have been ſenſible how much they are defective in martial affairs, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war without the help of the *Greeks*, whether it be

be a domeſtic quarrel, or with the *Greeks* themſelves; for they cannot engage even in a war with the *Greeks*, without the aſſiſtance of *Greeks*.

Now I think I have executed what I undertook. For I ſay it is evident, that the *Perſians* and their allies have leſs piety towards the gods, leſs duty and regard to their relations, are leſs juſt and equitable in their dealings with others, more effeminate, and leſs fitted for war, than they were in their firſt inſtitution. If any one thinks differently, let him conſider their actions, and he will find them confirm what I ſay.

FINIS.

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